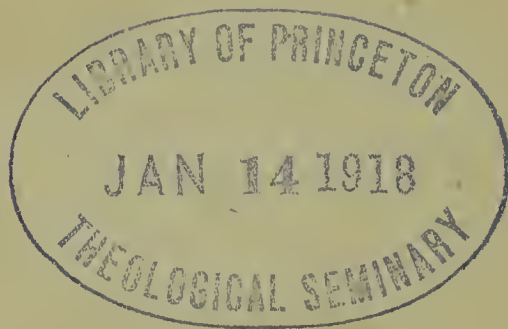


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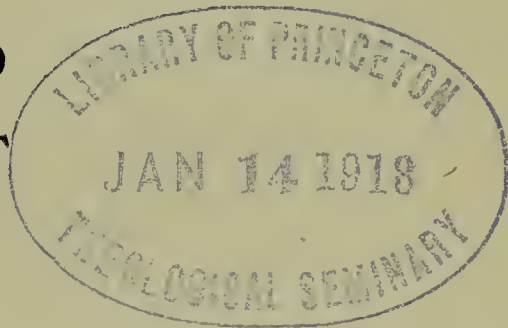


ARMENIA:
PAST AND PRESENT.

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PAST AND PRESENT

A STUDY AND
A FORECAST



BY

W. LLEW. WILLIAMS

Formerly Editor of "The Sunday Strand."

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P.

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INTRODUCTION.

BY MR. T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P.

I gladly write a few words of introduction to this interesting and important statement of the Armenian case. Mr. W. Llew. Williams, the author, has been known as a well-informed and thoroughly sympathetic writer on Armenian subjects for years; and when I have had to deal, either in writing or in speech on Armenian questions, I have found him a valuable source of information.

I need say but little of the subject of his book; it deals not only with the history of Armenia, with its long martyrdom, reaching its climax within the months of this war; but also with its aspirations and with the various methods suggested for dealing with its problems on modern and permanent lines. Armenia has always appealed to the generous sympathy of all the British peoples, and, indeed, of all the civilised world outside Turkey's confédérate, in the recent massacres; but Germany no longer counts among the civilised nations of the world; its attitude to Armenia is the exception that proves the rule.

But I have always felt that Armenia appealed to those unacquainted with its history, rather because of its sufferings than because of its character and history. It is a nation of martyrs, and much of its modern story is but the record of repeated massacre. But let us not forget that it is also a nation of a long and glorious history; that it was one of the earliest to create a civilised and cultured society; that it was the first practically as a nation to adopt Christianity; and that it has adhered to Christianity for all these centuries through every horror of massacre and oppression. But even this is not enough to say of the essential greatness of Armenian history and Armenian character. It is necessary to remember that it was, at one period of its history, the greatest power among the nations of Asia; that it governed itself with success and equity for century after century; and that it stood as the first rampart of Christianity between Asia and Europe; and finally, that these traditions of faith and of patriotism have been carried on through many centuries and innumerable generations without the religious or the national spirit suffering the slightest diminution in either its valour or its tenacity.

This is a noble record—the noblest perhaps in the history of the human family. But it should be added again that this national character has all the best qualities of the civilised and the cultured races of the world. The brilliant commercial genius of the Armenian people has made them the chiefs of commerce even in the lands where their race

was proscribed. Their thrift and their industry have enabled them often to attain prosperity under every condition that seemed to forbid prosperity. Their art has flourished even when some of its noblest monuments fell before the devastating Turk. Their love of learning is so profound and so widespread that they have kept the school going even in villages where the race had been almost entirely reduced, by one of the periodical cyclones of massacre, to ashes and corpses. Members of the Armenian race sought the highest heritage of learning in the Universities of Great Britain, of Germany and of the United States; and these students have brought back their conquests in culture to the schools and colleges of their people. Such a race is indestructible, is immortal; it has risen again and again from its pools of blood and heaps of ashes. Its blood has flowed, let it be hoped, for the last time. This great war of liberation cannot end, must not end, without giving liberty to the Armenian race; and that liberty must be such as will enable it at last to go along the lines of its development. Armenia is passing from the tomb to the resurrection.

T. P. O'CONNOR.

ERRATA.

For Semetic read Semitic.

For Zisimces read Zimisce.

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To

My Armenian Friend,

A. P. H.,

Nationalist, Patriot, Democrat.

PART I.



THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE.

(A) GEOGRAPHICAL.

THE great stretch of country popularly spoken of as Asia Minor, for centuries under the yoke of the Ottoman Sultans, contains within its borders Asia Minor proper, Syria, Armenia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, and the Arabian province of Hejaz. It includes about 704,650 square miles of territory. Its greatest length is found on the northern edge to be some 720 miles; along the southern about 650 miles. A line drawn between Cape Anamur on the southern littoral to Cape Kerembi in the Black Sea gives the greatest breadth, viz., 420 miles; a similar line drawn from the head of the Gulf of Alexandretta to the southernmost bight of the Black Sea at Ordu shows a breadth of nearly 300 miles. Roughly speaking, the total area is about twelve times the extent of England and Wales, three-and-a-half times the size of Germany, and considerably larger

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than France, Germany, and Austro-Hungary combined. This vast extent of territory, which includes some of the richest and most fertile parts of the earth's surface, is inhabited, it is estimated, by some 17,500,000 people, or an average of about 24 to the square mile.

The western portion of Asia Minor was known in the time of the Byzantine Empire as Anatolia (the land of "the rising sun"), and the term was used to distinguish the peninsular portion of Asia from continental Asia. From East to West parallel with the Black Sea and the Mediterranean run two ranges of mountains at no great distance from the seas. Between them lies the great elevated table-land or plateau from 2,500 to 4,500 feet high, broken up by other mountains which give a peculiar character to the whole country, making it difficult of access, and tending to keep it what it has been from the very dawn of history, a pastoral country, inhabited by a people in the main nomad, lawless, and intractable. The southernmost range of mountains are known as the Taurus and the Anti-Taurus, of which the highest point is the Akjah-Dagh (11,000 feet). Till

very recent times, these mountains and the country generally were little known. They form the south and south-west boundary of the six Vilayets or provinces which are known as Armenia, and it is in their most northerly reaches that the great rivers Euphrates and Tigris take their rise. "Both branches of the Euphrates," says Lynch [Vol. 2, p. 406] "wind their way by immense stages at the foot of these mountains, in the lap of these plains; the eastern branch, called Murad Su, rising in the neighbourhood of Diadin near the base of the Ararat system, and traversing Armenia almost from one extremity to the other. The more westerly channel is composed in its infancy by two streams . . . one descending from the Dümlü Dagħ, and flowing sluggishly through the plain of Erzeroum; the other springing in the neighbourhood of the sources of the Chorokh in the elevated district of Orajik. The Kelkid and Chorokh are both in their upper courses typical Armenian rivers. What a contrast," he concludes, "between this wealth of waters, many of which might be rendered navigable, and the hopeless sterility of great parts of Persia,

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from which no river finds its way to the ocean!"

It is the mountain systems and the numerous and fertilising rivers which give to Asia Minor its striking beauty, its salubriousness, its wealth, and its extraordinary economic promise. "There is nothing needed," Lynch declares [Vol. 2, p. 405], "but less perversity on the part of the human animal to convert Armenia into an almost ideal nursery of his race. The strong highland air, the rigorous but bracing winters, and the summers when the nights are always cool; a southern sun, great rivers, immense tracts of agricultural soil, an abundance of minerals—such blessings and subtle properties are calculated to develop the fibre in man, foster with material sufficiency the growth of his winged mind and cause it to expand like a flower in a generous light. One feels that for various reasons outside inherent qualities, this land has never enjoyed at any period of history the fulness of opportunity. And one awaits her future with expectant interest." The country which is known as Armenia lies in the extreme east

of the peninsula, south of the Black Sea and of the Caucasus. Modern Armenia formed part of the Greater Armenian Kingdom, which, in its widest extent, stretched from 37° to 40° E. lon., and from $37\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to $41\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. lat. This was in the reign of Tigranes the Great, "King of Kings," and the mightiest monarch in Asia. It has long fallen from its high estate, and its former territory is now divided between the Empires of Russia, Turkey, and Persia, whose three frontiers meet in the vicinity of Little Ararat.

The whole of Armenia is a continuation westwards of the great Iranian plateau, which stretches as far East as the Indus River, and also includes the modern Afghanistan.* Above the general level of the plateau, some 6,000 feet, rise bare mountains, which culminate in

* "Another great factor in the historical development of this region is that the broad plains run east and west, and are easy of access by commerce, ideas, or armies coming either from Asia or Europe, but not from either Mesopotamia or the Black Sea. Finally, Armenia has in her mountains three great refuges—rough, inaccessible districts, where communications are intensely difficult, but where life may be maintained by agricultural pursuits; these are the regions of Hakkiari, the Dessim, and the Zeitun. We may therefore expect, under such conditions, to find warlike agriculturists in the refuges, a tenacious but unwarlike race of farmers and merchants in the plains, and nomads and semi-nomads on the mountain slopes." (Syke's *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, p. 7).

the famous Mount Ararat (17,385 feet). Between these ranges are broad elevated valleys interspersed with numerous rivers, which flow through the plateau before they enter the deep gorges which carry their waters to the lower levels. Lake Van is the most important inland water, 5,100 feet above the sea level, with an area of about 1,300 miles, or, says Lynch: "Six times as great as Lake Geneva." It possesses two considerable islands, on which have stood for many centuries two Armenian convents. Other lakes are: Lake Urmia (4,000 feet above sea level), like Lake Van, a salt lake; Lake Sevan (5,870 feet above sea level), discharging into the Arax; and Chaldir into the Kars Chai. The monotony of the plateau is increased by the treelessness of vast areas. "There is no reason why this country should not be strewn with woodlands and her plains verdant, with a kinder rainfall and an extended irrigation. Patches of forest, but thin and miserable, still struggle towards the interior from the luscious zone in the North. They are seen on the sides of the passes at a distance from the villages. But with the

exception of Kighi and the Dersim and the slopes of the Goghanlu Mountains, southwest of Kars, the land has been denuded of any covering as a result of progressive economical decline. Centuries of unchecked license on the part of tribal shepherds—Tartars, Turkomans, Kurds—have brought about the destruction of a source of salubrity and wealth, which, under any circumstances, would require careful husbanding,” [Lynch, vol. 2, p. 405.] If the plateaus are monotonous in their lack of adornment, on the other hand the gorges of the Euphrates and Tigris possess a wild beauty of scenery which is unsurpassed.

The climate varies. On the higher reaches of the plateau the winter is long and the cold severe, summer is short, very dry and hot. The temperature at Erzeroum varies from 22° to 84°. Snow sometimes falls in June, and in July the wells near Erzeroum are occasionally thinly frozen over. The mountain chains with their heavy snow accumulations are the sources of the many streams. But the rainfall is not heavy, and in summer the plains are scorched and demand irrigation.

The soil shows volcanic products, especially in the vicinity of Maku, in the narrow valley which extends from the Araxene plain near Ararat towards Lake Van; and also in the country round Lake Gougeka. In the interior the few towns there are, lie high—from 4,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level. The villages are on the gentle slopes, and the peasantry, as their forefathers did 800 years ago, burrow in the hill-sides, and find in the excavation protection against the rigours of the long and trying winter. Xenophon's description of the sufferings of the 10,000 Greeks in this climate is well known.

Both the Taurus and the Anti-Taurus ranges are crossed at different points by passes, generally at low elevations and fairly easy of access. One of the most famous is the pass of Erkenek, the only one by which an army could descend from the interior of Asia Minor towards Syria or Mesopotamia. An even more famous pass, either from the military or commercial point of view, is the Golek Boghaz or "Cilician Gates"*—a deep

* "Happily enough for us . . . the Sahara, the Persian deserts and the sea, guarded the life centres of Babylonia

gorge, 3,300 feet above sea level, running about 30 miles north of Tarsus, over the Taurus and connecting Anatolia with North Syria and the Euphrates Valley. The width of the road through the Gates proper is only 25 feet. Through the gorge between walls of perpendicular rock, rushes a tributary of the Tarsus River. This famous defile has been used in all ages by migrating peoples, traders and conquering hosts. Through it marched Alexander to the conquest of Persia and the far-distant East. In more modern times, Mehemet Ali, in his revolt against the Ottoman Sultan, twice penetrated through the "Cilician Gates" into Anatolia on his march to Constantinople.

(B) **ETHNOLOGICAL.**

The population of Asia Minor, especially that of Armenia, presents ethnological pro-

and the Nile Delta from the swarming onslaught of sheer barbarians. There were only two roads by which whole nations could move towards the Persian Gulf or the Mediterranean, either through Thrace and so across the Bosphorus to the Cilician Gates, or else from the Caucasus and down the Tigris gorge. The adoption of either of these routes meant a long period of war and strife with partially-cultured people before the actual fountain of civilisation could be reached. And if a barbarous people conquer a civilised people slowly, they themselves become insensibly civilised in the process." (Syke's *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, p. 12).

blems which are almost insoluble. So far as reliable statistics are available, the total is about 17,500,000. It has been described as Proto-Armenian or Armenoid. But as the original people of what was the Greater Kingdom of Armenia are quite unknown, the term does not add much to our understanding of the ethnological questions involved. They first appear in history about the 9th century B.C. It appears pretty certain that the mass of the population of the whole peninsula were part of that great family of tribes which, impelled by economic necessity or by pressure of other peoples, spread over Western Asia, and to have had a common Non-Aryan language. But the process of amalgamation with the peoples already there speedily began, and no doubt a strong Semetic element was present in the resultant population.

In the 7th century B.C., the land was sufficiently subdued by an Aryan people to secure the imposition of both name and language upon the conquered provinces. But during following centuries Asia Minor has been invaded from both East and West, and there have been great movements of popula-

tion. Conquering races have massacred the vanquished or forcibly expelled them. Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Ottomans, have swept like great tides over the whole of Asia Minor. In the course of these centuries race distinctions have been largely weakened, if not actually obliterated, by the fusions of blood. The Armenian race has not been exempted from the process. The fact that they became Christians in the Third Century doubtless has tended to keep them fairly distinct, because it made them exclusive, and to have assisted in preserving both language and racial features from revolutionary changes. Then the physical features of the land the Armenians inhabited have operated in the same direction. Its lofty mountains, widespread uplands, deep isolated valleys, afforded unassailable sanctuaries for the people when invaders swept over the land. Thus, though Armenia is the highway between East and West, and the people exposed to the full influence of alien-race invasion, the Armenians have succeeded in maintaining both nationality and faith. The mountains have always been the home of

a hardy and brave race, who, like the Zeytoonese, defied the Turk, and kept undefiled both blood and liberty. The physical effects are marked in these highland Armenians. The peasants of Mount Taurus are taller, better-looking, keener-featured, more active and courageous, than their compatriots who dwell in Armenia proper or throughout Asia Minor. These are below the middle height, thick-set, coarse-featured, with thick, straight, black hair, and the hooked nose usually associated with Semetic peoples. They are almost exclusively engaged in tilling the soil; are, for obvious economic reasons, poor, oppressed, ignorant, and in many districts are but little removed in character and habit of life from their ancestors, living in the same semi-subterranean houses their forefathers did 2,000 years ago. A third type is found in the towns both of Asia Minor and European Turkey. Generally he is the descendant of those Aryan and Semetic Armenians who either emigrated or were deported to Cilicia and Constantinople when the Arabs and Seljuks over-ran the whole of Asia Minor.

He is the shrewd, industrious, persistent, skilled artisan, merchant, banker, one meets in the Levant, and it is his enterprising spirit, unaffected by envy and hatred of Christian and Turk, which has made him, through his marked business aptitudes, the industrial and financial master of the Near East. Whatever faults may be charged against him, his sobriety, frugality, industry, intelligence, cannot be denied, whilst his sturdiness of character and age-long tenacity have, under conditions unimaginable to the Western mind, enabled him to preserve nationality and religion. Intensely conservative in faith, manners and customs, no people in the East have exhibited such progressive instincts or made such willing sacrifices for the spread of education. On the other hand, their tendency to jealousy, love of intrigue, greed, have been fruitful causes of political disaster in the past, and is one reason of their unpopularity. Lynch goes so far as to say that many who only know the Armenians from sad experiences of a Levant dragoman, would not view the ruin of this people with regret ; but, he adds, "for myself . . . I must freely confess exactly

contrary sentiments." One of the undoubted elements in any opposition which may be made to the political aspirations and aims of the Armenian people which must be reckoned with is this prejudice, dislike, even hatred, existing among other peoples with whom the destinies of the Armenian people may rest in the near future.

It is said that lack of courage, self-reliance and obsequiousness are conspicuous in this people, as well as a want of truth and honesty. Yet in Persian Courts of Justice it is a common, almost proverbial saying, that "Armani durugh namuiguyad"—"an Armenian cannot lie." If they are not honest, at least as honest as their neighbours and critics, how comes it that the keepers of the Privy Purse of most of the Sultans of Turkey in modern times, including that of Abdul Hamid II., were Armenians? We admit that it is not unlikely that six centuries of Turkish misrule and grinding oppression have affected adversely the morale of the race. Let the nation without sin cast the first stone at this people. The marvel is that it has preserved any virtue—nay, the miracle is that it has survived at all in any organised form!

The Armenian people at the zenith of their power numbered not less than 30,000,000. To-day they can boast of but, throughout the world, under 4,000,000. Unfortunately there are no reliable statistics of the population in Turkish Armenia or Persian Armenia. In 1886, Armenians in Transcaucasia (including Russian Armenia) numbered 962,426 out of a total population of 4,186,103. The total population in 1897 had grown to 4,875,275. The growth of the different racial elements were not ascertained when Lynch published his monumental work on "Armenia," in 1901. But the Armenian population of the Russian provinces has enormously increased during the last 30 years. Not less than 50,000 to 60,000 fled across the frontier during the massacres of 1895. To-day there must be in these provinces, not counting the inflow of refugees since May, 1915, an Armenian population of not less than one-and-three-quarter millions. What is the population of Turkish Armenia?* or what was it before the

*Professor Garton Valran of the University of Aix-in-Provence in "Le Semaphore de Marseilli" of November 20th, 1915, declared that "Armenia (viz., The Six Vilayets) had a population of 5,000,000 at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century!"

war? Here, again, no accurate or even reliable figures are obtainable. What is certain is that both Moslem and Christian agree in understatement because returns are made the basis of taxation for the Christian population, and of recruiting from the Moslem. Take Lynch's figures which he says were "the outcome of a long and laborious investigation pursued in the country itself." ["Armenia," vol. 2, p. 413]. He gave the figures (1890) for the five vilayets, viz., Van, Bitlis, Kharput, Diarbekir, and Erzeroum, as follows:— Total population, 1,252,841. Of these, 387,746 were Armenians. Moslems totalled 853,758. Only in the vilayet of Van were the Armenians in a numerical majority. It should be pointed out that while he declares the figures emanating from the Armenian patriarchate* to be exaggerated, he has to declare of his own estimate: "I am satisfied that the total population of the Turkish provinces is in excess of the figures which I give." [Vol. 2, p. 415].

* See end of chapter for detailed Armenian Statement of Population in this same district.

Admitting that the Armenian element has decreased, despite their extraordinary fecundity, owing to systematic massacre, it must not be forgotten that, as Lynch points out, "the importance of the Armenian element must be measured not so much by its numerical strength as by the solidarity of the Armenian people when compared to the peoples among whom they live . . . Should the Russians become possessed of the Armenian provinces of the Turkish Empire, the most numerous as well as the most solid of the elements of population in Transcaucasia will be furnished by the Armenian race." It is just as well to remind those publicists and politicians who have already committed themselves to the opinion that the Armenians would not be able to maintain an autonomous Armenia, even if the Powers guaranteed it, of the deliberate judgment of this British traveller who knew Armenia and the Armenians better than any man of his race.

In this connection it should also be stated that all the charges of want of courage made against the Armenians because they have

not by force attempted to secure freedom, are made forgetful or ignorant of the fact that for centuries the Armenians have been forbidden on pain of death to carry or even to possess arms! None the less, in certain districts they have secured arms, and in those districts the villagers have enjoyed immunity from Kurdish attacks. Add to this the suggestive fact that at the present moment not less than 100,000 of Armenia's sons are with the forces of the Allies on both Eastern and Western fronts fighting as conscripts and volunteers, and the attempts to fasten a reputation of cowardice are seen to be futile.*

* Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, a well-known authority on Near Eastern affairs, wrote in the "Nineteenth Century" (February, 1913), referring to the Balkan War: "They (the Armenians) fought magnificently for the Empire." Sir Edwin Pears, speaking at the Society of Arts (November 24th, 1915), said: "The Armenians, all things considered, are the manliest race in Asia Minor." (The "Near East," November 26th, 1915)

Note on Population of the Six Vilayets.

These figures were supplied by the Patriarchate in 1912, and formed the basis of negotiations between Russia and Turkey in the first half of 1914. It was on this basis that a scheme of reforms was agreed to in February, 1914. It entirely contradicts the figures published by the Porte in the Year-book of 1912, which coolly states that there were only 1,100,000 Armenians in Turkey in 1911, of which number some 600,000 lived in the Six Vilayets. It should be stated that the Armenians have special facilities for arriving at fairly accurate figures, at least, of their own people. Registers of Births and Marriages are kept in Armenian churches, which give the clergy some basis for arriving at approximately accurate figures. On the whole we hold the figures in this table to be more trustworthy than any others we have seen.

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The following is a tabular statement of the Patriarch's figures, which if not perfectly exact, is at least nearer the truth than any other available.

Races	Erzeroum	Van	Bitlis	Kharpout	Diarbekir	Sivas	Total	Per Cent.	Total Per Cent.
Armenians ...	215,000	185,000	180,000	168,000	105,000	165,000	1,018,000	38.9	Christians 45.2
Nestorians, Jacobites and Chaldeans }	—	18,000	15,000	5,000	60,000	25,000	123,000	4.7	
Greeks and other Christians }	12,000	—	—	—	—	30,000	42,000	1.6	
Turks ...	240,000	47,000	40,000	102,000	45,000	112,000	666,000	25.4	Moslems 45.1
Circassians (immigrants) }	7,000	—	10,000	—	—	45,000	62,000	3.4	
Persians, Lazes and Tzigans }	23,000	3,000	—	—	—	—	26,000	3.4	
Sedentary Kurds	35,000	32,000	35,000	75,000	30,000	35,000	242,000	9.2	Sundry 9.7
Nomad Kurds ...	40,000	40,000	42,000	20,000	25,000	15,000	182,000	7.1	
Kizil-bashs, Zazas, Yezidis }	58,000	25,000	60,000	80,000	31,000	—	254,000	9.7	
Total ...	630,000	350,000	382,000	450,000	296,000	507,000	2,615,000	100 %	100 %

(C) **ECONOMIC.**

For nearly one thousand years Asia Minor has been under an economic cloud. Mr. Asquith, in his Guildhall speech, spoke of the Turkish "blight which has withered some of the fairest regions of the earth." It was the earliest centre of the world's civilisation, learning, commerce, wealth. When the Sixth Century was closing, Asia Minor was exceedingly wealthy and prosperous. Great centres of population and commerce existed along its coasts, and the fame of its cities and products had spread over the known world. Its decay began with the invasions of the Persians (616-626 A.D.), and was hastened by that of the Arabs in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries. What Persian and Arab began, the Seljuk and Ottoman Turks completed. At the latter end of the Fifteenth Century Turkish supremacy was established, and then even the Italian trading settlements on the coasts, established in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, were

abandoned. From that time the economic condition of Asia Minor has steadily worsened. The great cities no longer exist. Commerce languished, and, finally, almost expired. Once-busy centres of human life and industry are deserted, silent, nameless. The population dwindled to insignificant proportions. Enterprise died under the heavy hand of the Turkish official. Nomads took possession of and roamed over the fertile uplands. The soil ceased to be cultivated. Forests were destroyed. Roads fell into dis-repair, and finally were lost. Communication became difficult, in places impossible. Hence internal trade decreased. Poverty stalked through the land. Turkish officials ground the peasantry into unimaginable depths of poverty by their assessments and exactions. Thus one of the most fruitful, potentially wealthy, parts of the earth's surface became barren, economically dead. True of Asia Minor generally, it is true of the Greater Kingdom of Armenia, with its capital of Vagarshapat ; of the later capital of Ani, and of the Lesser Kingdom of Cilicia. All shared in and were overwhelmed by the same disaster.

For centuries Asia Minor passed out of the mind of Europe. Other lands were explored, exploited, developed. Capital poured into lands with not half Asia Minor's material wealth. Even now Asia Minor is to a great extent *terra incognita*. Its mineral wealth and possibilities are only just beginning to be known. Germany's policy, revealed in her attempts to secure railway concessions, shows that she was alive to the economic value of Asia Minor. She clearly realised that it would pay her economically at any cost to secure commercial rights, which she could exploit at her leisure. Therefore Germany's power and credit were behind her bankers and concession hunters, who were encouraged, and their hands strengthened, by the knowledge that she would allow no considerations of humanity to impede the attainment of her end. Bismarck, in 1883, told Great Britain frankly that Germany cared nothing about Armenian reform, and that they had better be allowed to drop. No! Germany was not prepared to risk defeat of her deeply-laid schemes of political and economic expansion in the Near East by

any considerations of pity for an ancient race. In the country was the mineral wealth which would make Germany independent of the world. Its fertile soil would grow all the wheat and cotton Pan-Germans needed, and its uplands "amply satisfy," as one German declared, "the needs of our wool industry."

In that single sentence there is expressed the extraordinary possibilities of Asia Minor for the Power or Powers that possess it, are capable of developing its wonderful resources, and utilising them to the utmost advantage. That Turkey never attempted. With a treasure-house within his own territory, he never attempted to enter it. Wealth untold to supply all his needs, and he lacked both the power and inclination to lay hands on it. Nay, he prevented anyone else from utilising them. Gold is there, and silver is there; coal in abundance; oil equal to any in quality and quantity the world can offer. Iron is there in huge masses, and copper ore in plenty. Indeed, there are few minerals called for in modern industries which cannot be found in the mountainous districts.*

* See Note at end of chapter.

Germany knew this better than any Power in Europe, and in her ambitious dreams of a Pan-German Empire stretching from Berlin to Bagdad, she was perfectly aware of the economic value of the lands she coveted. "In the Orient," said Paul Rohrbach, in the New York *Evening Mail*, "in Asia Minor, in Syria, in Mesopotamia, in Persia, and the Balkans, there is abundance of all the raw material we need."

Nor is it mineral wealth only which the land offers. It is magnificently watered. Where irrigation is needed there is no lack of available supplies, and the results of a system of irrigation on a large scale in a land of rich soil and abundant sunshine can be seen in the region of Lake Van, where it has turned barren lands into a Paradise. All that is needed is a population with energy, industry, intelligence, and a land that has hitherto been unable to support its scanty population will make of Asia Minor, and *Armenia in particular*, a granary for the supply of food-stuffs, and a storehouse from which can be drawn the raw materials needed by the industrial populations of less-favoured

lands. That population was already on the soil. Is there need to demonstrate the economic and industrial possibilities of the Armenian people in face of what they have already achieved? Under kinder conditions they would develop into a magnificent industrial people. The rule of a fanatical, ignorant, reactionary government alone has kept them from redeeming the land and the people from utter economic ruin. Lynch bears convincing testimony to the economic value of the Armenian peasant. "Finally, we must not overlook the high place which the Armenians already occupy in the economic order of the country, and the fact that the Armenian population is capable of very rapid expansion under kinder circumstances. I have already had occasion to speak in praise of the Armenian peasantry; yet while agriculture suffers from the disappearance of the Armenian from the soil, the place which he occupies in the less rudimentary grades of civilised life can never be supplied. The worn and crippled machine of industry functions through him alone. His advancement means the progress of the country; his removal the cause of its decay." (Vol. 2, p. 425.)

Turkish domination and methods have been disastrous by driving off from the soil thousands of these peasants. The land has been stripped of its dwellers. Take one example: The Armenian population in the United States has increased from a few score to over 100,000 people. Every successive massacre has swollen the stream of fugitives rushing away from outrage and murder. At the moment of writing, advices from private sources show that the process of extermination is going on systematically and with indescribable cruelty. Deportation and flight account for hundreds of thousands. Refugees in Russian Armenia number over 300,000, and the army daily increases. Massacres on a larger scale and over a wider area than at any previous period of Armenian history are of daily occurrence!

Economically, of course, the policy is disastrous, and even if, as is unthinkable, Turkey and her allies are victorious, the greatest asset of Asia Minor in general, and Armenia in particular, viz., her only intelligent, industrious population is being destroyed. If the policy is carried through to

the bitter end, and the Armenian problem *is* solved by the extermination of the Armenians or the draining of them out of the land, an economical blow will be dealt Asia Minor which it will take generations of sane government to remedy.

But what we see now happening on an unparalleled scale has been the ordinary, permanent policy of the Turks through the centuries. By some inconceivable folly, which even self-interest should have prevented, every natural inclination of the people to take advantage of the vast resources of the land, mineral and agricultural, has been hampered, discouraged, and ultimately, by official exactions, destroyed. The peninsula has never had an economical chance for centuries. There are few native industries, few handicrafts, and even these are confined within very humble limits. Wages are low. Employment is for those needing it uncertain. Thus poverty pervades the whole of Turkish Armenia, and under the present regime the economical outlook presents no hopeful features. The only chance of a revival, of any improvement, lies in a change of rulers.

Russian Armenians have prospered enormously because the elementary benefits of government — safety of life, honour and property have been secured. The element in the population of what is called Russian Armenia which has contributed most to its economic development and steady progress is undoubtedly the Armenian. Let me quote Lynch on this point, “In order” he says [Vol. 1., p. 467] “to study this people at anything like their true worth, one should study them not in the Levant, with its widespread corruption, but in the Russian provinces of Armenia. Here they have most successfully utilised the interval between the period when the sword of Russia was the sword of the deliverer, and the present period . . . I was so surprised at the results achieved, and by the contrast between the sterling progress of this newly-emancipated population and the stagnation and progressive relapse of their neighbours of different nationality, spread over the whole wide area of the Nearer Asia, that without any certain previous purpose, I resolved to pursue the study further and to protract the journey into

Turkish territory. For what was it I saw? In every trade and in every profession, in business and in the Government services, the Armenian was without a rival and in full possession of the field . . . Most of the villages in which you sojourn are inhabited by a brawny Armenian peasantry . . . As it is, the Armenian has edged out the Russian, and if peace was allowed her conquests, he would ultimately rule in the land." "Nay, more," Lynch concludes, "he is one of the only stable native elements of progress in the Nearer East" [p. 469].

There is no reasonable doubt but what, with the establishment of good government in the six vilayets, an economical revolution would speedily follow. The total area of these provinces is something like 112,000 square miles, as the following table shows:—

EXTENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND
IN THE SIX ARMENIAN VILAYETS.

Vilayet.	Total area.	Arable.	Mountain, Barren, or Forest.
	sq. miles.	sq. miles.	sq. miles.
Van ...	17,000	12,000	5,000
Erzeroum	22,150	8,700 plus 3,400 cultivated.	10,000
Sivas ...	29,000	18,000	11,000
Bitlis ...	13,000	7,500	5,500
Kharput ...	14,500	7,250 1,000 pasturage.	6,250
Diarbekir	15,500	11,800	3,700
	<u>111,150</u>	<u>69,650</u>	<u>41,450</u>

It appears from this survey of the country that two out of every three square miles are good agricultural land, only needing an industrious peasantry to make the foundation of a new economic era in the history of these war-spent lands. Leaving out of sight the undoubted mineral wealth that only awaits development, here is a source of a prosperity these provinces have been strangers to for nearly a thousand years.

IS THERE SUCH A POPULATION ?

We have already discussed the question of the numerical strength of the different elements of population. After all, one fact is certain, that the density of population per square mile of territory is lamentably small—"less than 30 per square mile," says Lynch, whilst in the adjacent Russian provinces the percentage is nearly 50. We have to-day to face the fact that the most recent events in Turkish Armenia have materially altered the whole situation. In the absence, therefore, of the Armenian element, the *only element of economic value*, must any hope of an economic revival be abandoned? It is true that the Moslems cannot be depended on for aid under any regime. The majority are nomads with little inclination for, and less skill in, even the rudimentary agriculture of the country. At the moment of writing they are the chief or only inhabitants of large parts of these vilayets. But the question which must be asked, especially in the light of past experience, is: Are these vital conditions likely to be the permanent conditions? Are we to regard this huge stretch of fertile land

as finally surrendered to a people incapable of utilising and unwilling to utilise it? Such a policy is unthinkable!

But there is another aspect of the question which must not be lost sight of or ignored. Will the Armenian refugees permanently forsake their native land? Will there be no movement back to Armenia on the part of these masses of the population? Previous experience affords grounds for a definite answer. During the massacres in 1895, when whole villages were wiped out, 50,000 to 60,000 Armenians fled into Russian territory from the Eastern Vilayets. But as soon as these districts resumed their normal condition—one not favourable to life, honour or property, thousands flocked back again to their ruined homes. Good government as the outcome of this war would encourage not merely those who have fled during the last few weeks or months to return in masses, but the known potential wealth of these provinces would attract Armenians from every part of the world where they are now settled. That fact would go far to establish a more general level of

equality in point of numbers between the Christian and the Moslem populations. Then the Armenians are a most prolific race. "The fecundity of this people is not less remarkable than their persistency," says Lynch [Vol. 2, p. 79]. After a decade of orderly and settled Governments, every year would see a marked increase in the numbers of the Armenian population, and a steady tendency to decrease the disproportion now existing. A generation would see the two elements on a numerical level, and every decade subsequently would see the proportions more surely reversed. This is, at least, the strong opinion of many authorities—an opinion based on widespread and prolonged investigation. The human element is assured.

Thus, however slight the prospect of an economic development in Armenia is at this dark and troubled hour, there are ample grounds for an optimistic view of the economic future. Capital will be needed to increase the facilities of communication and transport, for investigating the mineral wealth in detail, for the purposes of administration—

especially for improving methods of agriculture, and for the proper education of the children of the people. But no one can imagine, once settled government has been established, and publicity secured for the advantageous employment of Western capital, that there will be any greater difficulty in securing this than in other fields demanding aid for economic and industrial purposes.

Note on Mineral Wealth of Armenian Vilayets.

As yet it is imperfectly known. The following list is, however, trustworthy :—

Van.—The mountains of Van are rich in various minerals. *Coal* has been found at Sivan, near Van ; at Karasu, Bashkale, Norduz, etc. *Lead* at the Djulamerik and Tchukh Mountains. *Iron* at Ghiavar and at Ahmali. *Copper, borax*, etc., have been traced in various parts. Deep oilfields found (1875-77) at Kordzot, but the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War ruined the works.

Erzeroum.—*Gold* is found in River Djorokh ; *silver* in various districts of the North. *Zinc* and *copper*, and also *coal*, which last has fully supplied the needs of the vilayet by quantity dug out at Terdjan—very extensive and deep. *Iron* is extracted from soil at Kighi, and *sulphur* at Bayazid.

Sivas.—There are well-known quarries of white marble and lignite at Amasia.

Bitlis.—*Iron, copper, lead, sulphur* are being worked by the natives at Sasun, and there are traces of *gold* and *silver* at Sairt and Khirvan, *iron* and *lead* at Kharzan. There are *mineral springs* and plentiful signs of *sulphur, iron, and coal*.

Diarbekir.—The famous *copper* mines near Arghana-Maden, said to be the largest in the world. *Lead* and *coal* in different parts.

Kharput.—Plentiful signs of *silver*. The mines at Keban-Maden, on the left bank of the Euphrates, have been worked from time immemorial.

Further, the possible supply of raw material for textile work is practically unlimited ; *silk, cotton, wool* are all procurable by proper development of sources of supply. No effort has been made, *e.g.*, to improve breed of either sheep or goats.

PART II.



HISTORICAL.

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HISTORICAL.

**(A) THE ANCIENT KINGDOM OF GREATER
ARMENIA.**

The early history of Armenia is a mass of traditions out of which emerge two or three incontestable facts. What is not clear is the place which the Armenians as a race occupied in the early history of Asia Minor. That they played an important part in determining its political fortunes is beyond question. But in this brief survey one can only indicate the fact and pass on to surer ground. When the race stood in the clear light of history, their country was partially subject to the kings of Persia. It is certain that when Xerxes made his great war on Greece, B.C. 480, a body of Armenians formed part of his army. Over a century later Vahey being on the throne of the Haïgs, assisted Darius in his war with Alexander the Great. Vahey fell in one

of the disastrous battles which ended in the utter defeat and death of Darius. Armenia became a Macedonian province whose first Governor, Mithrines, a Persian, was appointed by Alexander. Following the death of Alexander, and the break up of his vast Empire, Armenia fell to the Selucidae, but Ardvates (317-284 B.C.) threw off the Macedonian yoke of Neoptolemus, and for a period of 33 years was an independent king. For a whole century after his death, Armenia was under the rule of the Selucidae until the time when Antiochus the Great (223-137 B.C.) was defeated by the Romans under Scipio Africanus near Magnesia in Asia Minor, and lost all his territory East of Mount Taurus. Two Armenian nobles, Artaxias and Zadriades, revolted against the rule of the Syrian kings, and with the consent of Rome became independent kings of Armenia Major and Armenia Minor in the eastern and western sides of the Euphrates respectively. The latter was ruled by the descendants of Zadriades till the fall of Mithridates in 66 B.C. Artaxias on the other hand established his capital at Artaxata on the Araxes. The

strongest and most capable of his successors was Tigranes the Great (94-56 B.C.). By his marriage with Cleopatra, daughter of Mithridates VI. the Great, he linked his fortunes with those of this monarch in his contest with Rome. By successful military efforts Tigranes extended his power in all directions, and the kings of Atropatene, Gordyene (the country of Carducha, now Bohtan), Adiabene (the former Assyria), and Osrene (Edessa), became his vassals, and slave-like followed in his train wherever he went. Parthia was still further weakened by the loss of Northern Mesopotamia. Syria was invaded in 83 B.C., and the last of the Selucidae was defeated and Cilicia occupied. The Princess Cleopatra Selene who attempted to restore the Selucid power was besieged in Acco, and afterwards killed. This was the height of this Armenian king's power. He had become "king of kings" and the mightiest monarch in Asia [Ency. Brit. vol. 26, p. 969]. He founded "a new Royal City, Tigranocerta, on the borders of Armenia and Mesopotamia, between Mount Masius and the Tigris, where he accumulated all his wealth, and to which

he transferred the inhabitants of twelve Greek towns of Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Syria." His success was his undoing. He aroused the enmity of Rome, who saw in Tigranes a rival, and so in 69 B.C., Lucullus attacked Armenia. Twice was the Armenian king defeated, at Tigranocerta, in 69 B.C., and at Artaxata, in 68 B.C. His son's revolt further weakened him at a critical period, and when Pompey joined forces with those of the rebels, Tigranes surrendered to the Roman General (66 B.C.). On payment, however, of an indemnity of 6,000 talents he was permitted to remain on his throne as the vassal of Rome. After ten years of vassalage he died in 56 B.C. His son, Artavasdes, succeeded him. Thus Rome and Parthia were brought into direct contact. Parthia was the great rival of Rome in the first century B.C., and though Armenia was closely "connected with Parthia by geographical position, a common language and faith, intermarriage and similarity of arms and dress," it was politically dependent upon Rome. Hence the land became for centuries the field upon which East and West strove for mastery.

The Parthian Kingdom went down before the Persians in 226 A.D., and the fate of Armenia was sealed in 232 A.D., when it was conquered by Ardashir, the first of the Sassanidi kings of Persia. In this contest with the growing power of Persia, under the rigorous rule of Ardashir and his successors, Armenia had the aid of Rome, who saw in Persia a more dangerous rival than Parthia had ever been. The contest was embittered by the religious factors which now began to be a potent element in the relations of the different States. Christianity had made remarkable headway in Armenia since the first preaching of the Apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew. Indeed, the student is almost shut up to the view that the new faith had permeated every rank of society and had won disciples in the most influential circles. Ardashir was Zoroastrian, and was determined that it should be the only form of religion tolerated through his dominions. The Christians, therefore, were severely persecuted during his reign. His son, Shapur I. (240 A.D.), one of the most forceful of Persian monarchs, was too deeply engaged

in extending his empire, to persecute Christians in Armenia ; but in the reign of his grandson, Shapur II. (309-380), it was resumed more fiercely than ever. The reasons were not obscure. The political revolution which had overthrown the Arsacidian dynasty in Persia and placed on the throne the Sassanides, did not affect the occupants of the Armenian throne—Arsacidian though of Parthian origin. It was necessary, however, to ensure the security of the new dynasty by overthrowing that portion of the old dynasty still in power and defiant. But the army was the obstacle ; it was not on the side of the Sassanides. Anak, an Arsacide prince, volunteered to assassinate Chosroes, king of Armenia, a near relation of his own. He carried out his plan in 240 A.D., but he himself, in the same year, fell a victim to the vengeance of the Armenian satraps. Chosroe's son, Tiridates, spent thirty years with the Romans, who placed him on his father's throne in 287. It was then he came in contact with his kinsman Gregory, the son of Anak, who had been brought up a Christian at Cæsarea. On learning the facts about

Tiridates, he seems to have returned to the Armenian capital and entered his service. But when his faith was disclosed he was cast into the dungeon and allowed to remain there for fifteen years. His subsequent release, and the conversion of Tiridates, read like some elaborate romance. But it was a fact. With all the zeal of a convert, Tiridates insisted on Christianity becoming the faith of the State (301 A.D.); and Gregory and Tiridates, the Saint and the Ruler, went through the land destroying the symbols of heathenism and overturning its temples. Thus the new faith established as the religion of a minor State was a distinct challenge to the Persian monarch. He entered on a course of persecution which involved him in war with the Christian Emperor Constantine the Great—a war which lasted for more than one generation. It was the long struggle for the mastery in the Near East, which had as one result the partition of Armenia between Rome and Persia (387 A.D.), the Western portion being joined to Pontus, the Roman province, whilst the Eastern was taken by Persia, and as Pers-Armenia became a vassal State, with

an Arsacid prince, until 428. Subsequently it was governed by Persian and Armenian noblemen selected by the "Great King," and entitled "*Marzbans*." Thus the Greater Kingdom of Armenia was divided, and for a period of many years bitter persecutions and sanguinary wars were normal conditions. Again and again the Armenians revolted against the tyrannous rule of the *Marzbans*, against the enforced conversions. In 451 A.D. the great battle of Avarair was fought, when 66,000 Armenians defeated 220,000 Persians. Ultimately the Persian King Valarse recognised the futility of the policy, proclaimed full religious liberty to Armenians and all other Christians in his dominions, and made the leader of the Armenian forces, Vahan Mamikonian, Governor-General of Armenia. For a while the land knew civil and religious peace.

But whilst these violent changes marked the life of the Armenian Kingdom and divided the country in its political allegiance, there had been introduced into the life of the Armenian people factors which counteracted these disastrous political changes. The

danger was that the people, under varying political governments—Greek, Roman, Persian—would lose all national consciousness and sentiment. Their new faith became a bond of union which successfully resisted all the efforts of non-Christian kings and governments to break. The Armenians began to realise that they were a people with a definite spiritual ideal, which separated them from all the pagan races by whom they were surrounded. The invention of the alphabet, the translation of the Bible into the language of the people, were events of more importance in the formation of a national sentiment, and in drawing the people together, than they realised at this period of their history. Their mother-tongue became the language of the sanctuary, and exerted an immense and enduring influence in sustaining the national life and consciousness under conditions likely to have been fatal to both. Religion, language, and literature were the binding forces which kept solid the national life. So firm a grip did these take on the people as a whole that the national life survived those political changes which slowly deprived them of any separate political existence.

Nor must it be forgotten that, losing independent political existence, and having their fortunes and destiny linked with one or other of the great Empires of Persia, Greece, or Rome, they never lost a great measure of autonomy. After the partition in the last years of the Fourth Century, right up to the last decade of the Sixth, this autonomy was possessed by them, and their immediate rulers under the "Great Kings" were largely men of Armenian blood and sympathies. Towards the end of the Sixth Century two families emerged—the Jewish Bagratids and the Persian Mamegonians. One of the latter family, Vartan, made himself (571-578), with Byzantine aid, independent. At this period the Greek Emperors and the Persian monarchs were almost continually at war. In 614 Persia invaded the Greek Empire, and actually carried away from Jerusalem the relic of the Holy Cross; in fact the Persians fought their way to the walls of Constantinople. Roused by the imminence of the danger, the Emperor Heraclius exerted himself and engaged in a struggle with Chosroes II., which ended in the complete defeat of the Persian enemy.

In this great struggle the Armenian troops under Megege Gnouni were largely responsible for the success of the campaign, which finally ended with the capture and sack of the Persian capital (627). It was the beginning of the end of the Persian Empire. Weakened by civil war, it was in no condition to withstand the invasion of the Arabs, and in 651 the last of the Sasanian monarchs fled from his native land.

The victory of Heraclius left Armenia in the possession of the Byzantines. But it was for a very brief period. In 636 the Arabs swarmed over Armenia. In an incredibly short time it was wholly in the hands of the Caliphs, who appointed Arab and Armenian governors (Ostikans). Here is seen again the same instinctive grasping at some political hold on their native land, made under identical conditions two centuries before. There was the same resolute determination not utterly to lose control of affairs out of Armenian and friendly hands. The great nobles, supported by the obstinate patriotism of the people generation after generation, sustained a conflict with their foes East and West, Arab or

Greek. These centuries are filled with the sounds of war. Through all, "we can discover," says Lynch [Vol. 1., p. 336] "the fervid self-assertion which has enabled this strange people to preserve, in the face of odds which appear to us to have been overwhelming, the inflexible individuality of their race."

One of these governors appointed by the conquering Arabs, the Bagratid Ashot I., was even crowned King of Armenia by the Caliph Motamid (885 A.D.). It was the revival, after 450 years, of Armenian royalty. It was the founding of the Kingdom of Ani—the Armenian Kingdom of the Middle Ages. Ashot I. was worthy of the post he held. "In the flower of his age he exhibited the union of imposing physical qualities with habits of mind which gave peculiar weight to his counsels, and with a natural suavity of disposition and expression. An agreeable face, in which, however, the eyes, with their heavy black eye-brows, were shot with blood, like a speck of red upon a pearl, was set around with a magnificent beard, and sprang from broad shoulders, in keeping with his

fine stature." Nor was he less attractive intellectually and morally. "Whatever defects might belong to such an exterior were compensated by the habitual purity of his life. The prince was missed at the sumptuous banquets of the rich, but his presence was felt by the poor in every action of their daily life. He once said: 'The service of humanity was a life-long service.' This precept was illustrated by the example of his own long life." Such was the first king of the Bagratid dynasty, who ruled at a time when the short-lived empire of the Caliphs was in process of dismemberment, and when petty Mussulman dynasties were exercising in adjacent lands their uncertain powers. Ashot's capital was Bagaran, on the banks of the modern Arpa Chad, south of the later capital Ani. Sembat I., his son and successor (890-914), largely increased the area of his kingdom on the west. His authority was acknowledged as far as Erzeroum; on the north-east and east it reached to the foot of the Caucasus and the shores of the Caspian Sea; whilst he appears to have succeeded in dominating as far west as the country of Taron (the modern

Mush), and as far south as Mesopotamia. But the enmity of his Moslem neighbours and the treachery of his kinsmen of Vaspurakan (Van) at length overwhelmed him. "We see," says Lynch, "the Artsrunian prince of the extensive province of Vaspurakan turning his arms against his own countrymen and their Bagratid king, and in active alliance with the enemies of his religion and race." Sembat's end was tragic. Defeated and made prisoner, along with his queen (914 A.D.), he was barbarously tortured in public, and when he was dead, his body, nailed to a stake, was exposed to the public gaze.

His son's (Ashot II.) reign (915-928) witnessed frightful sufferings on the part of his people at the hands of their Moslem foes. The whole country was given over to war. The alternative offered to the Armenians was apostacy or the sword. They remained faithful, accepting any sufferings rather than deny the Lord who bought them with His blood. "We are Christians," cried a young nobleman in the presence of the Mohammedan ruler Yusaf, "we believe in God Who is Truth, and Who dwells in the midst of Light without limits."

Overawed by the strength of the Moslem forces, even their Christian neighbours withheld aid. The land was reduced to beggary and ruin. Disunion within, and ever fresh inroads of the Moslems from without, make up the weary story of these years. Abbas (928-951) succeeded Ashot II., enjoying a larger measure of quiet and prosperity than the dynasty had hitherto known—a period employed by the king and his court in adorning the land with churches and monasteries. It was during the long reign of his successor, Ashot III., that the dynasty reached the height of its power and glory. A great victory which he won (960) over an Arab Mussulman gained him the act of coronation ten years after he had ascended the throne—an act in which the rulers of adjacent States, Christian and Moslem, actively assisted. A subsequent alliance with the Emperor Zisimces, an Armenian, sealed by the gift of 10,000 Armenian troops, by whose aid the Christian forces gained signal victories over their foes, further secured for him from the Emperor the title of Shahinshah of Great Armenia. It was Ashot III. who

transformed Ani from a fortress into a magnificent capital, which was further adorned by Sembat II. (977-989) and Gagik I. (989-1019). The kingdom, however, was distracted and weakened by the dissensions which followed on the death of Gagik I. His two sons became rival claimants for the vacant throne, and their claims were only adjusted by a device which still further weakened their forces, now on the eve of that trial which within a few years destroyed their kingdom and dynasty. Civil war between the sons of Gagik, who shared the divided kingdom, left them incapable of effectually resisting the advance of the new Moslem invaders, the Seljuk Turks, who now appeared on the stage of Armenian history.

The opening years of the 11th Century found these barbaric hordes swarming over the land, plundering, destroying, putting the inhabitants to the sword. Gagik II., successor of John Sembat and Ashot, defeated them near Erivan in 1042. It was but a momentary repulse. They were in no condition to resist. United as a race, and with

the aid of the Cæsars, they might have been an effectual barrier to the tide of barbaric invasion. Unfortunately the Armenian sovereigns of Georgia and Ani had taken up arms against the Emperor, thus depriving themselves and their people of the only effectual aid they could summon. Gagik II. was induced to visit Constantinople, and was kept captive, being given territory in Cappadocia and a palace in the Imperial City. Ani was made a part of "the Roman Empire, along the valley of the Araxes and round the shores of Lake Van."

Thus the protagonists in Armenia were now face to face—the Byzantine Empire at the seat of the last Armenian kingdom, and the barbarians who eventually submerged, first, this outpost of Christianity and, ultimately, the very capital of the Empire itself!

Just a glance at the Armenian Kingdom of Vaspurakan, of which Van, the ancient city on the lake of that name, was the famous capital. In the 9th Century the princely Armenian family of Artsruni, claiming descent from one of the Assyrian kings, had attained great wealth and territory in the south of

Armenia. They drew their name from the lofty office bestowed upon an ancestor of bearing before the Arsakid king the emblem of the golden eagle—"an emblem cherished to this day by the Armenian inhabitants of Van as the distinctive ensign of their city and province." The Caliph Muktadir elevated Gagik (908), the Artsrunian princelet, to the throne of the province, and thus began a dynasty which lasted in the Kingdom of Van till 1080. Its history is largely that of the neighbouring Kingdom of Ani. It had its periods—short at the longest—of repose and prosperity. War was its normal state with local Arab potentates, and not seldom with the sister kingdom of Ani. It also was weakened by this internecine war, which left it an easy prey for the Seljuks, who ravaged the Vaspurakan Kingdom in the first decades of the 11th Century. Indeed, it was upon the Kingdom of Van that the brunt of the Mussulman and Turkish invasion had fallen. Senekerim was the occupant of the throne when the storm broke. His son David was overwhelmed by these wandering shepherd soldiers about 1018. The defeat broke the

king's faith and courage, and "his despondency," says Lynch [Vol. 1, p. 357] "was confirmed by the recollection of a prophecy in which St. Nerses, the fifth successor of St. Gregory, had foretold the advent of great calamities at the hands of a barbarous people a thousand years after the divine mission of Christ." Panic-stricken Senekerim sent his son to Constantinople, and laid his kingdom at the feet of the Emperor Basil II. It was a stupendous gift. It included no less than 72 fortresses, 4,000 villages, and 8 towns. All were surrendered without a blow. He received in exchange a safe retreat within the Empire—the city and territory of Sivas (1021 A.D.)—and a representative of the Byzantine Emperors hastened to take possession of a large and populous realm. No single act of any Armenian monarch is regarded with so intense a loathing as this cowardly act of cession of his dominions by Senekerim. In the cloisters of Varag, near Van, his remains lie. Over his tomb had been erected a wooden canopy decorated in a manner befitting royal rank. But that any honour should be paid so unworthy a monarch

shocked the soul of Catholicos Khrimean (1893-1907). He stripped the tomb of all its trappings and ornaments, and the structure stands bare to this day.

From this time forward the kingdoms of Van and of Ani were involved in a common ruin. The famous Toghrul Bey appears as the leader of the invading hosts about 1021, and though they were repulsed on more than one occasion, they returned year by year strengthened in numbers, and conquering ever wider areas of these unhappy lands. Kars was sacked and its people massacred in 1050. The territory of Mush was overrun in 1058. Their forces even reached the city of Sivas, the quiet haven of the cowardly Senekerim, and his sons fled for their lives. The city was stormed and given over to indiscriminate massacre. The plain of Sivas was deluged in blood. No concerted defence was attempted by the Armenians; nor was there any union of forces between the Christian States of Armenia and those of the mighty monarch of Constantinople. "That Empire," says Lynch [Vol. 1, pp. 359-60], "so greatly respected by the Mussulmans as

the realm of the Romans, was an object of particular aversion to the Armenians as the home or the prey of the hated and unorthodox Greeks. On every page of Armenian history is written large the mutual suspicion which envenomed the relations of the two races . . . The judicial historian will perhaps conclude that the blame must be laid upon wider shoulders—upon the Pan-Greek policy of the Byzantine Cæsars and their masterful hierarchy, and upon the perversity of two cultured and Christian peoples, who, rather than compose or postpone their quarrels, threw this culture and this religion into the maw of savages.”

John Sembat, the King of Ani, in 1022, voluntarily ceded his dominions to the Christian Emperor Basil. The Emperor forcibly occupied his territory on John's death (1040). But even the fact of actual possession did not lead to the adoption of any wise policy of conciliation towards the Armenians. “The safety of the provinces was made subordinate to the interests of the great hierarchy; the Armenians were irritated by renewed attempts to bring them over to Byzantine orthodoxy;

and their resistance was punished by the removal of their strongest characters from the native seats, for the defence of which they would have given their lives. The new territory was handed over to Greek eunuchs, to whom was entrusted their administration and defence." A policy of this character made the issue inevitable. The task of the invaders was rendered easy, the conquest of the whole country was a mere matter of time.

Toghrul Bey was succeeded by the famous Alp Arslan. He appeared before Ani in the middle of 1064. An enormous population was gathered within its walls. It was popularly supposed to be impregnable. Its one-thousand-and-one churches were crowded day and night, whilst mass was sung. In twenty-five days it had fallen. With a knife in either hand, and a third between the teeth, the victors entered the city. The garrison took refuge within the citadel. Then began the massacre of the helpless population. When it was ended, the glory of Ani and of the Armenian Kingdom of the Middle Ages were ended also. Kars surrendered without a blow, and the defeat of the Emperor Romanus,

in 1071, finished a struggle which had lasted for generations. The Moslem has triumphed!

Ani had a return of prosperity even under the Seljuks. It was held again by the Armenians through the aid of the Bagratid King of Georgia, David II., and the cathedral which had served as a mosque was restored to Christian worship and consecrated anew (1124). But the following year it was again besieged, and again was in the hands of the Kurdish dynasty. Captured and recaptured, it was still rich and prosperous at the beginning of the thirteenth century. But on the appearance of the Tartars, in 1239, the city was ruthlessly sacked by the hordes under Jenghiz Khan; and an earthquake in 1319 finally completed what the fire and sword of barbaric peoples began. To-day there is nothing left of Ani but imposing ruins which tell the traveller what a civilisation, and wealth, and culture, have been there!

(B) THE KINGDOM OF LESSER ARMENIA.

At this distance of time it is difficult to reconstruct the life of the Armenian people in those centuries when they were fighting innumerable foes for a national and political existence denied them by other races inferior in brain power, culture, in the arts and sciences, or by a world-power dominated unhappily by a fanatical and narrow-minded hierarchy intent on enforcing their dogmatic beliefs on a weak and struggling people. It is as difficult to do this from the scanty records of that vanished past as it would be to reconstruct that great city (Ani), rivalling the Byzantine capital itself for artistic treasures, from the ruins which mark its site and speak eloquently of its extinct and forgotten glory. It is as though some irresistible hand had swept from the face of the earth all that had been, and left of both the people and their civilisation but the debris of their former life.

Two things are certain. Those centuries of incessant warfare between rival petty potentates and contending States lessened the population in point of numbers, and, secondly, interfered greatly with that natural growth which must have marked so alert, strong, progressive, a people as the Armenians undeniably were. Under Tigranes the Great the population of Armenia was at least 30,000,000. When the Kingdom was divided in the 4th Century A.D. it had greatly diminished. What it was when the Seljuks obtained the supremacy in Armenia we have no means of learning. But the wars, the indiscriminate slaughter, must have vastly decreased the population despite the fact that the Armenians were, and are, a most prolific race. Beyond all doubt these conditions and continued emigration led to that decrease in the population which has left the Armenian nation but the shadow of its former self. Equally certain is it that the natural development of the Armenian people, their growth in the intellectual and cultural life peculiar to them, came to a sudden stop. How could it be otherwise? They were

scattered abroad like the sheep of some panic-stricken flock. Their institutions were broken up. The only stable institution left to them in any organised form was their Church, and that was the object of the envy and hatred of their most powerful Christian neighbours, East and West. The roots of their national life were ruthlessly torn up and scattered to the winds. How could any distinctive intellectual life withstand the shock of such a national catastrophe?

Perhaps even more disastrous was the destruction of the political existence of the Armenian people. It is pathetic, even to-day, to note how helpless they were in that great sea of contending races. A people inordinately proud of their independence, always striving amid political disaster to retain, at least, the semblance of it, the sport of Arabs and Kurds and Seljuks! A people whose intellectual supremacy cannot be denied—Lord Cromer calls them to-day “the intellectual cream of the Near East”—the subjects of races of which it would be absurd to postulate any intellectual life, whose superiority lay in mere numbers, and in the

subserviency of masses to a cunning brain, which made them in turn an effectual weapon to beat down any opposition.

The process of national deterioration once begun could not be arrested. The economic and social conditions steadily grew worse. "For more than three centuries after the appearance of the Seljuk, Armenia was traversed by a long succession of nomad tribes, whose one aim was to secure good pasturage for their flocks on their way to the richer lands of Asia Minor. The cultivators were driven from the plains, agriculture was destroyed, and the country was seriously impoverished, when the ruin was completed by the wholesale butcheries of Timur. Many Armenians fled to the mountains, where they embraced Islam, and intermarried with the Kurds, or purchased security by paying blackmail to Kurdish chiefs." [Ency. Brit., vol. 2, p. 566.] Such of the Armenians as were able emigrated to more distant parts of Europe and Asia. The best of the population left the war-scourged land. Thousands emigrated to Poland, Moldavia, Galicia, to Astrakhan, on the northern shores of the

Caspian Sea, and thence to the Crimea. It was an impoverishment of the Armenian nation from which it has never recovered. In these distant countries they established flourishing colonies, grew rich, and contentedly settled down, to the great advantage of the people among whom they dwelt. "Many of these colonies have endured to the present day. Some among them were permitted to retain their own laws; and the jurisprudence of the Armenian kings figures in the code of Colony of Lemberg, which was administered by Armenians with the express sanction of the Polish kings, and which has been preserved to the curiosity of our own age." [Lynch's "Armenia," vol. 1, p. 367.] The emigrants fled from the wrath to come. But the Armenians who, willingly or unwillingly, remained, deprived of the presence of their leaders and nobles, uninspired by the example of those to whom they had been accustomed to look for guidance, found themselves exposed to malign influences each succeeding generation found it harder to resist. Then began the martyrdom of the Armenian race in their native land—a martyrdom which has no

parallel in the history of the human race. Still the amazing fact stares the world in the face to-day that, despite all, they have maintained their identity, their faith, and, though pitiably reduced in numbers, are still the strongest coherent racial unit—or were before the “Reform” policy of the “Young Turk” party assumed the form of a policy of extermination of Armenian Christians in Asia Minor.

With the capture of Ani by Ars Asplan, in 1071, and the end of the Armenian Kingdom in the East, there began that movement of the Armenian notables and their followers to which we have already referred. They went north and south. Those who took the road north were to all intents and purposes absorbed by the peoples among whom they found a refuge and made a new home. But they left unmistakable marks of their presence and genius in almost every walk of life, especially in the arts and sciences. Take one example: Armenian architects found in Constantinople constant employment. One of the most perfect specimens of Byzantine architecture, built in 1517-1526, at Curtea de Argesh in

Rumania, was [see Ency. Brit., vol. 2, p. 388] the work of one of these able men.

Those who went south followed a more romantic and adventurous path. In 1080, Rhupen, a kinsman of the last king of Ani, founded the settlement, at first nothing more, in the heart of the Cilician Taurus which, after an exciting period of strife, ultimately blossomed into the kingdom of Cilicia, known as the kingdom of Lesser Armenia. It was a Christian State in the midst of Moslem States. Through the whole course of its history it had to maintain one long struggle for existence. Its natural enemy was, of course, the Seljuk, who made repeated attempts to overthrow the little principality established in the most mountainous portion of Southern Asia Minor. Against these foes they sought to find allies in the Christian powers whether of Syria or of the West. It was this policy of conciliation of the Christian powers which led them to extend aid to the Crusades which form the outstanding feature of this period. Gostandin I. (1095-1100) ascended the throne of Lesser Armenia in the very year the first Crusade was decreed by

Pope Urban II. He generously assisted the leaders as they took their way to Antioch, and when Jerusalem was taken in 1099, Gostandin was knighted, and subsequently was created a marquis. A century later the identical policy was followed by one of the most astute and able rulers the Cilician kingdom produced, Leo "the Great" (1185-1219)—during the third Crusade led by the Emperor Barbarosa, Philip of France, and Richard Cœur-de-lion, king of England. Owing to dissensions among the leaders it was a failure, and was abandoned, in 1192, when the Sultan Saladin agreed to allow pilgrims free access to the Holy Places. Leo found his opportunity in the want of harmony among the leaders and rendered effective service. Beyond all doubt his aim was to secure for his little State the assistance, political and military, which would have enabled him to extend his dominions and heighten the status of his dynasty. He actually succeeded in winning the consent of the emperors of the East and West to the elevation of his State into a Kingdom, and to the bestowal of a crown upon the astute Armenian leader.

But during the whole of this century the Armenians had found the Byzantine Empire unfriendly, and on occasion openly antagonistic. The cause is to be found in the antipathy which existed in the Greek hierarchy towards the independent Armenian Church. Through all political vicissitudes the Armenians clung to their ecclesiastical freedom, and strenuously resisted the domination of the Orthodox Church. Continuous and determined attempts were made to bring about the subjection of the Armenian Church. This explains the policy of the Armenian leaders in turning to the West, and by negotiations with Rome, endeavouring to secure its countenance and support. On more than one occasion the little State found itself at war with the Byzantine Empire. Greeks and Armenians came to blows during the reign of Leo I. (1123-1137), and, as a result, the Armenian prince was captured, and the country occupied till his son Thoros II. ascended the throne (1144). Even when it seemed as though political differences had been overcome, and when the friendship of the Emperors had been won by the distin-

guished services of Leo II. during the third Crusade, the opposition to his advancement offered by the Roman Church, on the other hand, was successful in putting off his coronation for a period of two years. Rome demanded the submission of the Armenian Episcopate to the rule of the Supreme Pontiff, and Leo was forced to produce a document which made such concessions as satisfied the Roman legate. It may be said with absolute truth that the chief difficulty encountered by this tiny Christian State, this outpost of the Christian Church, during its whole career arose from the determination of the two Christian organisations in the East and West to absorb this national Church which clung so obstinately to its own creed, and to its separate and independent existence. When after 300 years of struggle against foes within and without the Lesser Kingdom of Armenia disappeared and the political existence of this people vanished, it was in a large measure owing to the ecclesiastical intrigues incessantly carried on by the Roman and Greek Churches. They weakened and rendered impotent the State at a moment when unity was called for,

and the whole strength of the people was needed to meet their Moslem foes thundering at their gates.

Leo II. not only secured the crown, but he extended his borders beyond Mount Taurus, gradually making his rule felt even to the Mediterranean. It was during his reign that the Italian colonies multiplied in Cilicia, greatly to the commercial advantage of Leo's subjects. At the same time many Armenian colonies were established in Italy. The closer relations which naturally followed strengthened the bonds with Rome, and to a corresponding degree weakened those with Constantinople. The Latins grew in favour with both king and people. The union of the two Churches was constantly discussed, and only the bitter hostility the Armenian bishops in the east of Asia Minor showed prevented the consummation of this union.

Leo "the Great" died (1219) leaving no male issue. His daughter Zabel succeeded him, and her second husband, Haithon II. (1226-1269), was strongly pro-Latin in his sympathies, political and ecclesiastical, but he was astute enough, whilst promoting the most

cordial relations with Rome, not to neglect securing the support of the Greeks. Persistent negotiations were maintained, and if they had no definite purpose, and aimed at no decisive result, they at least prevented the Eastern Power from being cast into the scale against the little State. It needed at this time all the support it could command from any quarter. The Turkish power was steadily growing in Asia Minor, and its pressure on the frontiers of the kingdom was increasingly felt. At least that fact may be urged in extenuation of the double game they played with their Christian neighbours.

Levon III. (1270-1289) and Haithon II. may be said to have been moved by opposite principles. The former, whilst maintaining friendly relations with the Latins, had as his basic principle the independence of his kingdom ecclesiastically and politically. Haithon II., on the other hand, heartily supported the party which desired ecclesiastical union with Rome whilst maintaining the political independence of the country. How far it would have been possible to have surrendered the one without sacrificing the other only experience

could have shown. Had the Lesser Kingdom of Armenia survived the attacks of its Moslem foes in the 14th Century, union, both ecclesiastical and political, might have become a condition of survival in any form. But it was not allowed to make the experiment. When Levon V. died (1342), the last of the Latinophile kings of the family of Korikos, John of Lusignan was chosen king as Gostandin IV. Of this house, five short-lived kings ruled in the last thirty-three years of its existence. "They were," says Stubbs, "Latin exiles in the midst of several strange populations, all alike hostile." The hostility was natural. They were not merely Latin, but pronouncedly Roman Catholic, and during the whole of their reigns they exercised the full weight of their influence and power to force conformity to Rome on the Armenians. They alienated their subjects by giving all posts of honour to their friends. Dissensions sprang up on every side, and the power of the State to resist attack steadily became smaller. Ormanian, in his "Church of Armenia," sums up the political situation at this period, which, he says (p. 70), "in the

interior, being at the mercy of disturbing elements, was extremely critical. The Armeno-Latin understanding had excited the suspicion of the Tartars, the Turks, and the Egyptians; and while the Armenians still reckoned on the protection of the Christian Powers, Europe, exhausted and enfeebled, was losing ground in Asia." There was no avoiding the inevitable catastrophe. The Mamelukes of Egypt invaded the kingdom in 1375, taking prisoner Leo VI., the last king of Armenia. After a long captivity he was released, and wandered as an exile through Europe, dying at last in Paris, in 1393, where he lies buried in the Church of St. Denis.

Thus ignominiously did the political independence of the Armenian people pass away. Henceforth through all the succeeding centuries they are seen as the sport and playthings, the victims and slaves, of an inferior race. Deep in their nature was the love of liberty, and all through their stormy history the value they placed on their independence shines like a star in the night. Even when the might of Islam had extinguished their

liberty, and left them powerless to resist injury or resent insult, the determination to be free showed itself. Into the recesses of Mount Taurus a body of Armenians withdrew, and there formed a community which, from the end of the 14th century to the present day, maintained an almost complete independence. The Armenians of Zeytoon never paid taxes to the Turkish Government and never gave recruits to its armies. With valour and determination they met their enemies, and for over 500 years, with occasional reverses, preserved intact their freedom. Proudly they called themselves "The British of Asia Minor—unsubdued and unsubduable." Every man was a warrior, and the women of the community were the equals of their husbands and sons in desperate valour. Their bishops carried into modern times the ideal of a mediæval bishop—the soldier-priest as ready to lead in the fight as to lead in prayer. The heroic feats of their women-folk were occasionally amazing—a mingling of courage and cruelty. Isolated, the little community were forced to rely upon their own ingenuity and mechanical skill for their arms. In the

recesses of the mountains they found the raw materials from which they fashioned their weapons. Thus the hardy mountaineers defied the foes who sought to bind the yoke upon their necks. One would wish it had been possible to say that even through this World War they had kept inviolate their mountain home. When the war broke out the able-bodied Zeytoonlis were bidden by the Turkish authorities to comply with the mobilization order and join the army. They well knew the bitter hostility of the Central Government towards themselves, and realised that once the men of Zeytoon were lured into the ranks of the Turkish army not a man would return. Besides, whom were they asked to fight against? Their British, French, and Russian co-religionists. It was preposterous! They refused to submit to the mobilization orders and prepared to resist. So successful was this resistance against the local forces that at length two complete divisions with artillery were detached from forces designed for operations on the Suez Canal in order to deal with these persistent Armenian mountaineers, thus weak-

ening the attack on the Egyptian front. Even with this large and well equipped force, no headway could be made against the Zeytoonlis. But what force could not effect, cruelty and fraud achieved. The threat was made that unless the Zeytoonlis surrendered, the whole Armenian population of Cilicia would be "rounded up" and "wiped out." To prevent so hideous a crime the majority surrendered. The minority, 1,000 to 1,500 fighting men, are said to have withdrawn to the loftier recesses of the mountains. Then Turkish ferocity was seen in all its appalling manifestations. Men, women and children were separated. The males were marched off north—to join the forces of the Sultan, it was said. They have never been heard of since. The women, children, and old men were driven to the Mesopotamian desert with the accompaniment of a ruthless barbarism, the story of which, as told by Lord Bryce and others, has sent a thrill of horror throughout the civilised world. Here in the 20th century we have an example of the methods of the "gentle Turk"—the methods he has strictly followed during the whole time

of conquest and domination. A community of over 20,000 people ruthlessly torn up, scattered to the winds, destroyed! In its destruction there vanishes the last fragments of that ancient Armenian life characterised by its aggressive love of liberty, its determination to be the master of its own destiny.

(C) UNDER THE HEEL OF THE TURK.

The disappearance of the Lesser Kingdom of Armenia ended the political life of the Armenian people. Henceforward for centuries they had no place in the mind of Europe. Their existence and conditions were matters of no importance to Christendom. Armenia was lost sight of save as a geographical term. The conquest by the Ottomans steadily went forward in the years following 1375. War was almost incessant, not only between Turk and Persian, but between the feudal lords—Kurd, Arab, and Armenian—whose rivalry and feuds kept the whole country in a constant state of war. To reconstruct the life lived by the people is beyond the imagination of any man. Life itself was held on the most uncertain tenure. Industrial life of any and every kind decayed. The invasion of Tamerlane, in 1401, had left Asia Minor a hideous wreck, and the rule of the Turk was not calculated to restore the

shattered fabric. The great campaign, in 1514, of Selim I., dispossessed Persia of her Armenian territory, and the policy of settling Kurds on the rich arable land was not a happy one for the remaining Armenian population. The power of the Kurds gradually spread over wide areas. But their aversion for any form of industrial life, even for rudimentary agriculture, turned whole tracts of valuable land into mere grazing grounds for their flocks. Still, once the question of Turkish supremacy had been determined, the land had in these years a time of comparative rest.

But it was short-lived. Armenia was still the object of Persian desire, and was invaded in 1575, and again by Shah Abbas in 1604. From the valley of the Araxes the Persian monarch transported a whole colony of Armenians to the suburbs of his capital, Ispahan. It is said he penetrated as far as Kars, and the ancient capital of Armenia, the City of Van, fell into his hands. By this time the period of conquest by the Turkish Sultans was practically ended, and the first signs of the decay of their power were visible.

It is certain they found it impossible to retain their hold of the Armenian province of Erivan, in which is situated Etchmiadzin, then, as now, the ecclesiastical, and in a sense political, centre of Armenian life. It was ceded by Treaty to Persia in 1639, and remained in her hands till 1828, when, by the Treaty of Turkman-Chai, it passed into the possession of Russia. This is the only part of Armenia which can be said to have any history during all these years. These lands happened to be between the territories of three Powers which seemed fated to come into collision sooner or later. The country North and East of Lake Van was the inevitable battle-ground. Russia, extending her territories south of the Caucasus, finding two decadent Powers barring her way, flung herself against them, and possessed herself of lands they had held for centuries, misgoverned, and left in political and economic ruin.

The origin of the Russian advance is graphically described by Lynch [Vol. 1, p. 446]. "The solid block of territory over which Russia now rules on the table-land of Armenia is neither a new acquisition nor the

fruit of a single conquest. At the commencement of the last (19th) Century she gained a foothold upon it by the voluntary accession of the Georgian Kingdom, and its constitution into a Russian province in 1802. This event, the outcome of the folly of the Mussulman Powers, who had driven the Christians into despair, was followed by the rapid expansion of the Northern Empire in those countries as the result of successful war. Karabagh was taken from Persia in 1813, and the important Khanate of Erivan in 1828; from Turkey the district of Akhaltsykh in 1829, and the fortress and province of Kars in 1878. Appearing as the deliverer of the Christian peoples, and profiting by their aid, Russia has succeeded in advancing her border beyond the Araxes and to the threshold of Erzeroum, and in establishing herself behind a well-rounded frontier, which comprises the venerated mountain of Ararat, as well as the seat of the supreme spiritual government to which the Armenians bow." That phrase, "the folly of the Mussulman Powers who had driven the Christians to despair," crystallises into a few words the whole tragedy of the

Armenian people throughout these centuries. First of all they were despised if not actively hated as Christians; then they were treated as beings of an inferior order—maltreated, denied justice, robbed by lawless Kurds and equally dishonest tax-gatherers. They were ground between the upper millstone of religious bigotry and the nether millstone of official injustice and oppression. The State would not defend them. They were forbidden to defend themselves. To carry or even possess arms was punishable by death. To suffer injuries was the Armenian's duty—in person, honour, goods; to resent them was to deserve and receive punishment. Life was cheap, and long-continued unchecked exercise of power made the Kurd or Turk insensible to the cruelty inflicted upon, and the suffering borne by, his helpless, unresisting victim.

Even at the beginning of the 19th Century, at Constantinople, a Mussulman could very well stop a Christian in the street, and calmly behead him, in order to test that his sword was in good condition. The rayahs were obliged to carry a special handkerchief to wipe the shoes of a Mussulman in the

streets at the least sign that he wished it done. If that was done at Constantinople, what would be the condition of the Armenian peasantry under the even more bigoted, fanatical, rule of the utterly ignorant Asiatic Turk or nomad Kurd?

Is it any wonder the Armenians turned to any quarter for succour, or that they welcomed the advent of Russia as the dawn of a new day? The prevalent idea of the Armenian as a quiet, inoffensive, much-enduring, rather cowardly man, is a strange one in the light of the history of this people. Russia does not entertain this conception of the Armenians. They flocked to the standard of Holy Russia, and it was the valour and military capacity, amounting to genius, of their leaders which gave Russia her territories south of the Caucasian mountains. The secret of the decline of Turkish power in Armenia, and the narrowing of her borders, is explicable only by the stupid folly of her rulers—their incapacity for government, their lack of any community of feeling with or sympathy for subject peoples. It is to be noted that this earlier period was not marked by wholesale

massacres. Sporadic murder was indulged in by raiding Kurds, women were never safe from outrage, kidnapping, and enforced conversion. Armenian property was regarded as really belonging to their political masters. But conditions did not even faintly resemble what we have come to regard as normal in more recent times. "The Armenians and Kurds have lived together from the earliest times. The adoption of Islam by the latter and by many Armenians divided the people sharply into Christian and Moslem, and placed the Christians in a position of inferiority. But the relations between the two sects were not unfriendly previously to the Russian campaigns in Persia and Turkey. After 1829 the relations became less friendly; and later, when the Armenians attracted the sympathies of the European Powers after the war of 1877-78, they became bitterly hostile." [Ency. Brit., vol. 2, p. 567 note].

On the same authority we learn that "when Abdul Hamid came to the throne, in 1876, the condition of the Armenians was better than it had ever been under the Osmanlis." That may be accepted as on the whole true,

though it must not be forgotten that our ignorance of actual occurrences in the remote parts of Turkish Armenia may very easily lead us to assume "better conditions" than the Christian population really enjoyed. Still there can be no doubt on the main fact indicated in the closing words of the preceding paragraph. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877 won freedom for the Bulgarian people, and ended the reign of the Turkish terror in Bulgaria. But the Treaty of San Stefano went further. It stipulated (Article 16) that Turkey should "carry into effect, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by Armenians, and to guarantee their security from Kurds and Circassians." (Subsequent massacres form a striking comment on this Article.) That stipulation drew Armenia and the Armenians into the orb of European politics and policies. It was bitterly resented by the Ottoman Government, especially as it was accompanied by a provision that Russian troops should occupy territory in Turkish Armenia until these reforms should be fully carried out.

The war cost Turkey Kars and the territory known as Turkish Armenia. But Turkish diplomacy supported by the Western Great Powers succeeded in overthrowing the San Stefano Treaty, and in substituting for it the Treaty of Berlin (July 13th, 1878). The six Signatory Powers were substituted for Russia, and her troops were to be withdrawn before the period of reform began! Great Britain went further. By the *secret* Cyprus Convention (June 4th, 1878), the Sultan promised to introduce necessary reforms "for the protection of Christians and other subjects of the Porte" in Asia Minor. As the price for guaranteeing the integrity of Turkish territory in Asia Minor, Cyprus was ceded to Great Britain. It was a rebuff for Russia. It was then regarded as a diplomatic triumph for this country. Time and events have shown it to be one of the gravest diplomatic blunders in our annals. But what were its immediate practical effects? It encouraged the Armenians to look to the European Powers and not to Russia alone for protection; and the Convention, which did not mention the Armenians, was regarded as

placing them under the special protection of Great Britain. It was a betrayal of the Armenians by the Power to which they were bidden look for deliverance from the basest and cruellest tyranny. It closed the door against the only Power which had shown the faintest interest in the improvement of their conditions, or made the slightest effort and sacrifice to secure this improvement. Has anything more futile in the region of diplomacy ever been witnessed than the efforts of the Powers to enforce the reforms in Asia Minor to which the Treaty of Berlin solemnly agreed and undertook to carry out? Effort after effort by the Concert of Europe was nullified by Turkish diplomacy, and when, in 1883, Bismarck told the British Government that Germany cared nothing about Armenian reforms, it was evident that any relief from this quarter was hopeless. The ill-fated Treaty of Berlin had altered Russia's policy in the Near East, and the hope of succour from that quarter for the Armenians was abandoned. Great Britain's attempts single-handed to effect the long-delayed reforms were vain. It was highly

embarrassing for some of the Powers—for Great Britain especially. But it was fatal for the Armenians. The Sultan was furious with them because their question had been forced to the front, and their social and political conditions revealed to the eyes of the civilised world. The reply of the Turkish Government the whole world knows. Then began the series of massacres, organised deliberately and carried out by the regular and irregular forces. For forty years those periodical slaughterings of an unarmed, helpless, unoffending people have continued. Sir Edwin Pears declares that in the years which have elapsed no less than 500,000 have been sacrificed. During the Erzeroum massacres in 1895-6 alone, at least 100,000 were sacrificed. No possible excuse was forthcoming. There was no local disturbance, much less any organised revolt. The Balkans, in 1876, were in open revolt. There the people had arms and munitions, and were incited to use them by friends and sympathisers. On the other hand, the Armenians were isolated, a minority in every one of the so-called Armenian vilayets save that of Van. The utmost in the way of dis-

turbance was the revenge taken by some exasperated and despairing rayah for some unusually brutal outrage or intolerable exaction. The Turkish Commission sent to Armenia in November, 1894, did not allege any revolt which would justify the action of the authorities. Notwithstanding this, officials implicated in the infamous Sasun massacres were decorated and rewarded. It was a despairing people who lent their ears to the emissaries of revolutionary propaganda. Secret societies, such as the Dashnaktsutioun and Hunctakist, were formed. Armenian leaders, clergy, and American missionaries, openly opposed the whole movement. It afforded, they held, the Government the very excuses they desired. The very list of organised massacres is appalling.*

They culminated in 1896, when, after an attack on the Imperial Ottoman Bank, Constantinople, by armed revolutionaries, "the rabble, presumably armed and instructed, were turned loose in the streets." Under the

* Here is an incomplete list :—Mush, 1893 ; Mush, 1894 ; Trebizond, October, 1895 ; various places, 1896 ; Van, Egin, Niksar, June 14th to 22nd, 1896 ; Constantinople, August 26th, 1896 ; Mush, 1904 ; Van, 1908 ; Adana, 1909

very eye of the Sultan and of the representatives of the Powers, some 6,000 or 7,000 persons were slaughtered! Equally ruthless butcheries took place at regular intervals over the six vilayets, and in certain other districts. They were confined to Gregorian and Protestant Christians. Any attempt at self-defence was met with more extended slaughter. The only successful defence was that made by the gallant Zeytoonlis, who for three months fought with the courage born of despair, and won for themselves honourable terms. During all these years of deliberate massacre no single official was punished, whilst many were openly rewarded for participation in them. How could the Government punish for carrying out its fixed policy? It was the Sultan's personal plan. "The only way of ending the Armenian question," said Abdul Hamid, "is to put an end to the Armenians"! Even while the "Young Turk" propaganda was going forward the massacres continued—notably at Mush (1904) and Van (1908). The Adana massacres in 1909 rank among the most terrible even in the blood-stained records of Turkish history.

Any attempt to influence the policy of the Sultan only inflamed his anger against his victims, only led to an increase of the area and the severity of the massacres. The total effect upon the country was disastrous in the extreme. The peasants in a steady stream flowed over the Russian frontier. At least 100,000 went to the United States during these years. By massacres and emigration the estimated Armenian population, in 1878, was reduced 50 per cent. Nor was this the only impoverishment the country suffered. "The destruction of property was enormous, the hardest-working and best tax-paying element in the country was destroyed or impoverished, and when the bread-winners were killed the women and children were left destitute." [Ency. Brit., vol. 2, p. 568].

That Armenians sympathised with the "Young Turk" Reform movement is well-known. At Constantinople, and in all parts of European and Asiatic Turkey, they warmly supported and financed the movement. No one rejoiced more heartily when, in 1908, the Constitution was granted. They hailed it as the dawn of a new day. The

“Young Turk” leaders boldly proclaimed equal rights and privileges for all creeds and every race. Armenians freely took service for the State in the cause of Reform. The whole movement was hollow. The reforms were but “paper reforms.” The Adana massacres in 1909 ought to have opened the eyes of the Armenian people as to what they might expect. The “Young Turk” party came into power simultaneously with this organised massacre, yet they allowed the two chief culprits to escape. It was prophetic of the conduct of the “unscrupulous gang,” to use Lord Bryce’s words, who had snatched at the reins of government in the Ottoman Empire. They reproduced the worst methods of the government they had overturned when they suppressed the Albanian revolt in 1911. To retain and maintain the power they had wrested from other hands, they were, and are, willing to use any weapon, however blood-stained.

Their conduct in Armenia during these last months is too notorious to call for lengthy notice. Lord Bryce, in his speech in the House of Lords (October 6th), indicted the Turkish

Government, which boasts as moving spirits such perjured politicians as Enver Pasha and Talaat Bey, before the civilised world. These men have out-Heroded Herod. Humanity stands aghast at the enormity of their crime—the unparalleled extent of their butcheries. Even the blood-curdling atrocities of Tamerlane are rivalled by the men who are fit allies of the German Huns! It cannot be doubted but that from 800,000 to 1,000,000 Armenians in Turkish Asia Minor have been murdered, outraged, deported, under circumstances of unimaginable cruelty, to desert places where they can only die from hunger and thirst! The roads which lead to the deserts south of Diarbekir and Bitlis were crowded with old men, women, and children, driven by Kurds, unfed, waterless, robbed by their brutal guards of their poor possessions—the women even of their clothes! Their path is indicated by the bodies of the dead. Exhaustion, hunger, thirst, have exacted terrible toll. The body of the newly-born child lies there—thrown aside by its demented mother! Thousands have sought in self-inflicted death escape from the horror and dishonour. In

very truth it seems as though Talaat Bey's threat that he would "deal the Armenians such a blow as would stop them talking of autonomy for fifty years" has been literally fulfilled. Remonstrances, protests, appeals from the United States, from Rome, have been contemptuously ignored. Meanwhile Count Reventlow, the uncompromising apologist for every extreme measure adopted by the German Huns and their Allies, proclaims to the world that the treatment of the Armenians is the sole concern of the Turkish Government, with which the rest of the world has no right to interfere. Some Armenians have taken up arms against the Turks, *therefore* the "Young Turk" party may treat *all other* Armenians, including women, children, and new-born babes, as cruelty and lust dictate!

So the regime of the Turk in Armenia, which began in blood, has been blood-stained through all the weary and shameful years of his domination, closes amid scenes of carnage which stagger humanity. But Turkish domination *closes!*

(D) THE STORY OF THE ARMENIAN CHURCH.

The descriptive term "National Church" is more truly applicable to the ecclesiastical institution of the Armenian people than to any other of which we have knowledge. The terms "Nation" and "Church" are almost interchangeable. The history of the one is largely the history of the other. That does not imply that every Armenian is in dogmatic agreement with the Church's standards or in sympathy with its polity. There are dissenters. But they recognise the peculiar and exceptional character of their national Church, and fully admit the extraordinary part it has played in the national life, love it for its work's sake, look up to it, and, in an astonishing degree, are guided in matters, social and political, by its supreme head. The most critical student of Armenian history must admit that no other Church in Christendom has given such valuable services to its adherents, played so

potent a part in the people's life, imparted such wonderful dynamic to the national will, as this most ancient, most persecuted Church. It has had its periods of degeneracy. No State Church escapes them. We shall note them in this brief survey of its history. None the less we shall clearly realise the value of this Church to the people through the centuries of their martyrdom, realise how fully it deserves that unbounded confidence, enthusiastic reverence and love entertained for it not only by Armenians at home but also by Armenians of the dispersion.

The origin of this Church is clearly discernible. It was beyond doubt Apostolic. Primitive and unvarying tradition agree in regarding St. Thaddeus and St. Bartholomew as the first preachers of the Gospel in Armenia, and as the founders of the Christian churches in the land. These two are spoken of as *First Illuminators of Armenia*. St. Bartholomew's labours and martyrdom in Armenia are as well authenticated as any facts in the history of the founding of the first churches during the great forty years after our Lord's ascension. Concerning Thaddeus

there is less certainty. Some affirm him to be Thaddeus Didymus brother of the Apostle St. Thomas, whilst a second tradition sees in him the Apostle St. Judas Thaddeus, surnamed Lebbeus. The details are lost, but the broad fact remains that the earliest preaching was by these two men, and that the first communities of Christians in Armenia were gathered from the mass of heathendom as the result of their labours. Beyond these facts we know little or nothing. The primitive era is shrouded in darkness. But the work did not cease when the Apostolic workers received the crown of martyrdom. The best guarantee for the spread of the Gospel was the missionary zeal of the first converts. The Armenian Church grew in numbers, influence, endured persecution, and had its martyrology. There are records of religious persecutions by King Artaxerxes (c. 110 A.D.), by Chosroes (c. 250), and by Tiradates (c. 287). It is permissible to argue that had the Christians been small in numbers, and of small social importance, they would have escaped persecution. The fact points to the existence of a large body of Christians. Indeed, only on the

supposition of a widespread acceptance of the faith can the almost instantaneous conversion to Christianity of the whole land in the first years of the Fourth Century be explained. It had already taken deep root in the life of the nation when the events occurred which issued in Armenia becoming the *first Christian State*.

That event took place in 301 A.D. Constantine followed the example of his Eastern ally in 313 A.D., and Christianity became the State religion of the Roman Empire subsequently. The instruments of this wonderful conversion of the Armenians were Gregory the Parthian, surnamed by the Armenians Lusavoritch, the *Illuminator*, and the King Tiradates. The two men were blood relations. Gregory's father had killed the father of Tiradates, and a blood feud between the two families existed. Gregory, saved from the slaughter of his family, was brought up at Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, as a Christian. When Tiradates came to the throne Gregory took service with him. Subsequently he was cast into the dungeons for his faith, and remained a prisoner for about fifteen years. Only

was he released when Tiradates, in the grip of some grave malady, sought his aid, and in a miraculous manner was healed by him. Tradition, which the Armenians fervently accept, tells the romantic story of Ripsime, the Christian virgin, who, pursued for her beauty by the Emperor Diocletian (284-305), fled from Rome, and finally took refuge in the outskirts of the Armenian capital, Vagharshapat. Here she was discovered by the servants of Tiradates who immediately sought to ruin her himself. She resisted and fled, was captured and murdered with her companions. Because of his treatment of the Christian virgin, the vengeance of Heaven fell upon him, and only by the intercession of Gregory was the anger of God pacified. On the spot where Repsime and her friends found refuge Gregory had a vision of Christ. There where the Son of God descended Gregory built the Cathedral of Etchmiadzin, and on the spot which drank the blood of the martyred virgins the churches which commemorate for all time the holy women who resisted evil to the death. Tiradates and his people became Christians, and such was the

king's zeal that nothing less than the proclamation of Christianity as the State religion would content him. By the end of the year 301 A.D. the religious aspect of Armenia was completely altered. The worship of the gods had almost ceased, and the practice of Christianity was general. The most conclusive proof of this is found in the statement of Eusebius who says that, in 311, the Emperor Maximianus declared war against the Armenians on account of their recent conversion. The advent of Constantine to the imperial throne averted the war, and there is reason to believe that both Gregory and Tiradates went to Europe and saw Constantine, concluding with him a treaty favourable to the Armenians.

Gregory at the time of the conversion was but a layman. Not till 302 A.D. did he receive episcopal consecration from Leontius, Archbishop of Cæsarea. Subsequently for a quarter of a century he controlled the Armenian Church giving it the constitution and form which it retains to-day. His zeal was unbounded, his labours incessant. Georgia was evangelised by his efforts, as

was Caspian Albania and Atropatene. Full of years and honour he died in 325—the year of the first General Council at Nicea. For a century the patriarchate remained in the family of the Illuminator which was loaded with lands and honours. Their conduct added to its lustre, and gave it a hold upon the imagination of later generations such as no other ecclesiastical office commands. St. Nerses I. (357-373), the great grandson of the Illuminator, developed the hierarchial government, whilst Sahak (Isaac the Great, 387-439) gave the people an alphabet of their own. Hence he made possible a version of the Bible, and a ritual in their own language. Further, he opened the doors of learning to his countrymen. Gregory established schools, but Armenia lacked native teachers. But when Mesrop, in 404, succeeded in forming an alphabet adapted to the genius of the Armenian language it became possible for their own tongue to be the instrument of learning. The Bible, the first book translated into the vulgar tongue, was finally completed in 433. Then followed liturgies, hymns “which ring as an echo of the old

national songs," and finally, this primitive literature of the Armenian race and Church contains translations of the Greek fathers, some of which only survive in these translations, *e.g.*, Eusebius' histories. There were but few original works, and these mainly historical.

Sahak's long patriarchate closed in ever-deepening darkness. Politically Armenia was divided between Greeks and Persians. Persian Armenia was distracted by intrigues and quarrels. The Armenian satraps secured the removal of the Armenian King Artarches, and tried by promises and threats to secure the influence of Sahak. He wisely refused to be drawn into the web of intrigue. They then accused him of plotting with their king against the Persian sovereign, who exiled the Patriarch in 428 A.D. For four years he resided in Persia, during which time rival patriarchs occupied the office and enjoyed the emoluments. But the people and their religious leaders loyally stood by Sahak, and were guided by him. He died in 439. Then calamity followed calamity for the unhappy nation and Church. The Persian

King, yielding to the importunity of the priests of the Zoroastrian religion, endeavoured to compel the Armenians to abandon their Christian faith, and to adopt the worship of sun and fire. Accordingly, in 449, he decreed the religion of Zoroaster binding upon all his subjects. People and episcopate stood firm. Twelve months had been granted for the change to be made. At the end of the year the whole nation took the field against the Persian Empire. At the battle of Avarair (May 26th, 451), 66,000 Armenians defeated 220,000 Persians, despite the treachery of some of their own people. The Armenian leader and over a thousand of his followers perished. Then ensued a period of disorder which culminated in St. Joseph, the Patriarch, being arrested and deported to Persia, where with many others he suffered martyrdom (454). For nearly fifty years the land groaned beneath the evils of persecution and war. Undaunted, the Armenians maintained the conflict. Finally, the new Persian King, Valarse, recognising the futility of this policy, abandoned it and proclaimed religious liberty. For a short space of time the nation and

Church had civil and religious peace during which time the Patriarch John led them in earnest efforts to repair the injury caused by the prolonged war.

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH AND THE SCHISM IN CHRISTENDOM.

Whilst the nation and Church were engaged in a life and death struggle with paganism events were taking place in Christendom which profoundly affected the Latin and Greek Churches, and ultimately led to the rupture which shattered Christian unity. That Christian doctrine would have to be defined was inevitable. The restless human mind, especially the abnormally restless Greek mind, would not permit Christian doctrine to remain in vague, undefined form. Till the Fourth Century the Church was outwardly in complete fellowship in faith and charity. But during the Fourth Century heresy arose in the East on the question of the nature of Christ. Was Christ a creature or was He uncreated? Was He God, or one of the works of God? At Nicea, in 325, the Bishops declared that Jesus Christ was " Son

of God, of one nature with the Father, who came down from Heaven, and took flesh and became man." Subsequent Councils at Constantinople (381), and Ephesus (431) generally confirmed the decisions of the Council of Nicea recognising, in the words of Cyril of Alexandria, "One nature united in the incarnate Word."

Of course, besides the dogmatic interests at stake there were other interests also especially the interests of the rival patriarchates of Alexandria, Rome, and Constantinople. Athanasius and Cyril were identified with Alexandria, and dominated the Councils of Nicea and Ephesus. Hence Leo of Rome was probably as much impelled by the natural desire to assert and justify the supremacy of the Roman patriarchate in the eyes of the world as to serve the interests of orthodoxy and Christian truth when he persuaded the Emperor Marcian to summon the famous Council of Chalcedon (451). It ended in a compromise which allowed, in the course of the next half century, the unfolding of declarations of the most contradictory type on the authority of the Council of Chalcedon.

Now the Armenian Church was formally represented at only the Council of Nicea. Circumstances already described prevented formal representation at Constantinople and Ephesus. But she recognised and loyally accepted the decisions of the first three general councils. The Council of Chalcedon was not convened until after the great battle of Avarair. Armenia was in no condition to take action in ecclesiastical matters. "The patriarchs and bishops were either in prison or in exile; the satraps were persecuted or dispersed, the militia disbanded, and the people terrorised. Under these circumstances it can well be imagined that wranglings about dogma failed to arouse the people's attention." Nearly forty years elapsed before the Armenian Church and people felt any interest in the Council of Chalcedon or in its decisions. But their attitude was never in any doubt. Compromise on doctrine they never assented to. The Synod of Armenian, Georgian, and Caspio-Albanian bishops which met at Douine (506) emphasised its acceptance of "the profession of faith of the Council of Ephesus, and rejected everything

that was Nestorian or savoured of Nestorianism including the acts of the Council of Chalcedon. Far, indeed, from adopting the doctrine of Eutychus, his name, together with those of Arius, of Macedon, and of Nestorius, was officially condemned." That attitude of ultra-conservatism which the Armenian Church then took up she has stedfastly maintained. For the Armenian Church there are but three general councils, and where they have declared truth she unfalteringly accepts it; where they have not spoken she sees and declares liberty to her adherents. That attitude separates the Armenian Church from the Churches both of the East and West. For her the general councils (so-called) held subsequent to Chalcedon are vain. "As to the expression of dogmas," says Ormanian (p. 109*), "this Church holds strictly to the ancient formulæ; she, therefore, no more admits the addition of the *Filioque*, the particular judgment, the pains of purgatory, the immediate beatific vision, than she does transubstantiation, the

*[Ormanian's "Church of Armenia," translated by Lt.-Col. G. M. Gregory, V.D.; Mowbray, Ltd.]

indulgences, and the papal theory. All these innovations have been accepted by the Latin world by an improper interpretation of the practice of the primitive Church."

From that day to the present she has gone her own way, yielding nothing of her claims, resisting every influence whether from friends or opponents which would draw her from the position she took up in the Fifth Century. Such attempts were made continuously. Let it not be forgotten that Armenia had lost political independence and passed successively under the rule of Persians, Greeks, and Saracens. The policy of each dominant power was determined by their religious profession. For the occupants of the Patriarchal chair, situations perplexing and difficult constantly arose. It is not hard to believe that these sorely tried men wavered in their policy because they wished to secure at once their political interests and yet not compromise their faith. We have seen how the Persians sought to coerce them and failed. The Emperor Heraclius having driven back (623) the invading Persians from the walls of Constantinople, after a

struggle in which the Armenians played an heroic part, sought to impose upon the Armenian people an agreement with the Greek Church. The Patriarch Yeze and his bishops yielded, but the people and the episcopate as a whole fiercely protested. A similar attempt was made (c. 650) by the Emperor Constantine, who, entering Armenia at the head of an army, sought to force a union of the two Churches. It was in vain. The Synod of Douine (645 A.D.) re-affirmed its adhesions to the first three councils and its rejection of all added subsequently. But by the middle of the Seventh Century, the Saracens had become the dominant power, and thus all ecclesiastical disputes lost their importance, especially as the Caliph's policy was to encourage the Armenians in their attitude of resistance to Greek influence and ideas, political or religious. For two centuries the Armenian Church enjoyed peace under the mild rule of the Caliphs, and even a measure of administrative autonomy was conceded them. During the whole of this period the Greek Church could only claim one substantial success as the result of all their political and

ecclesiastical effort. The Georgian Church, in 609, under its Patriarch Kurion, seceded from the orthodox Armenian Church, definitely accepted the Chalcedonian faith, and became part of the Greek Church. It was a fatal decision, though its most disastrous results were not seen till the Russian conquest of the Caucasus in the early years of the Nineteenth Century. Then the Georgian nation and Church were utterly submerged by Russia. "To-day everything in Georgia is Russianised; hierarchy and clergy, liturgy and language, the Exarch himself and the bishops of Georgia are recruited from the Russian clergy." The passionate clinging to their own independent Church which has marked the Armenian people has alone saved them from a like fate.

The political privileges granted by the Caliphs were not wholly advantageous to the people and Church. In time minor principalities were formed, each governed by a feudal lord supervised by Saracen high commissioners. Towards the close of the Ninth Century the whole country was convulsed by local wars. After the collapse of the Greater

Kingdom of Armenia in the middle of the Fifth Century, the official residence of the Patriarch was moved from Etchmiadzin to Douine (484). There it remained for nearly four centuries. But the disorders at the later period necessitated further changes, and finally it was fixed at Ani in 992. When the Kingdom of Ani fell, and the Bagratidae dynasty ended, the patriarchs followed the emigrants to Cilicia, and in that Western Armenian Kingdom, first, at the monastery of Schoughr in the mountains of Amanus, and finally at Sis, the capital of the new State, they established the ecclesiastical centre. Here it remained till this last kingdom of Armenia fell. Then it was again transferred to its original seat, Etchmiadzin, after an absence of 540 years (901-1441). There it has remained till the present time.

These changes had one important result. It removed the Armenian Church from the direct influence of the Eastern Church, but in doing so it brought it within the equally adverse influence of the Western Church. Having resisted the attempts of the Greek Orthodox Church to force a union, which

really meant absorption, it exposed itself to similar attempts on the part of the Roman Church. Rome was equally jealous of its independence, and sought in every possible way to bring it under the rule of Roman pontiffs. Now, the Armenian Church has never been averse to the idea of Christian union nor unwilling to discuss it. But it was always *union* she contemplated, not absorption by some vaster organisation. "The Armenian Church," says Ormanian, "has always understood the meaning of union in the true and strict sense of the term. She has desired to see its establishment on the basis of a spiritual communion between the Churches, of mutual respect for their several positions, of liberty for each within the limits of its own sphere, and of a spirit of Christian charity over-ruling all. She has never tolerated that union should take the guise of domination, nor be mistaken for proselytism. Unfortunately the Greek and Latin Churches, on the strength of their political and social status, have always been disposed to imagine that it was only possible to realise the union of the Churches by

bringing them under thralldom. To be more precise in our remarks, we would add that the spirit of domination holds the first place among the Latins, and that of proselytism among the Greeks."

If it were possible within the limits of this brief review to detail the facts in this connection it would be seen that during the whole of the period which followed the conquest of Armenia by the Tartars, negotiations went on with these great rival Churches almost unceasingly, on the part of the Armenians doubtless from the natural desire to obtain the protection of other Christian States against the invaders. The Armenian hierarchy during the existence of the Lesser Kingdom of Armenia (1080-1375) undeniably leaned towards the Western rather than towards the Eastern Church. The Crusades drew both Christian Churches into closer contact. It was very natural that Armenian Christians should aid their fellow Christians in their attempts to recover the holy places from the hands of the infidel Turk. That aid they loyally gave. It cannot be doubted they were profoundly impressed by the Western

Powers and led to entertain hopes of effectual political aid. Further, during this period the Patriarchate was filled by a succession of men personally favourable to union with the Latin Church. They saw more clearly than the bishops and people in Eastern Armenia the social and political advantages of such a union. Therefore they threw the whole weight of their influence on the side of their kings who, both of the family of Korikos and that of Lusignan, were whole-heartedly pro-Latin. The motives animating both dynasties were unquestionably political. They intrigued with Rome solely in the interests of their dynastic and personal ambitions. As we have pointed out in the survey of the history of the Lesser Kingdom of Armenia it was on this rock that the political independence of the race was lost. But it is well to remember that Armenians strenuously deny that these negotiations with Rome led to any final and binding conclusion. They maintained their independence, and to-day they declare that any suggestion that they, at any time, gave a complete adherence to Roman Catholicism goes far beyond the evidence. They point

out that during this period similar negotiations steadily went forward with the Greek Church. In both cases the main aim was to secure political aid for their State in their struggle with the advancing Moslem power. It is possible to level a charge of duplicity against the Armenian hierarchy; but it is not possible to indict it with the surrender of the ecclesiastical independence of their people and Church.

Never did the Church sink so low as in the early years of the Fifteenth Century. The moral and spiritual life of the Church may be gauged by the fact that the six patriarchs following the break-up of the kingdom of Minor Armenia (1377-1432) "had only gained the pontificate through the assassination of their predecessors and through resource to bribery. In order to recoup themselves for the outlay, they did not shrink from resorting to extortions of all kinds. They set little value on purity of doctrine, and were ready to submit to any compromise whereby profit might be gained." ("The Church of Armenia," p. 71). Roman Catholicism made headway, and one party of

Armenians despatched a delegate to the Council of Florence (1439) to negotiate a union. That was the last attempt in this direction for with the return to Etchmiadzin the question of union dropped out of sight. The prospect of peace which then opened was not realised. Personal ambitions and party passions destroyed any hope of permanent tranquillity. Patriarch succeeded patriarch, but not one of them was equal to the task of restoring order or subduing the evils arising from the clashing of rival ambitions. Their Persian rulers exploited the disorders, and gave their influence and power to "the highest bidder, and when no bidder was found they subjected the patriarchs to bodily torture until the necessary contributions were levied." Of all the thirty patriarchs who came and went after the return to Etchmiadzin only one stands forth as worthy of mention, Mikael of Sebaste (1542-1564-1570). He was strong enough to deal with ambitious dignitaries, and enterprising enough to inaugurate a new era for Armenia. The institution of printing is due to him, and so, indirectly, the beginnings of that Reform move-

ment which marked the Seventeenth Century. But the intervening years were dark indeed. The West gave no light, no aid to the Armenians. Roman pontiffs had no gifts for a Church which rejected its demands for complete submission. The unhappy Armenians had no rest from persecution at the hands of their Moslem rulers. How they survived the extraordinary conditions of life imposed on them for generations is a mystery.

The Eighteenth Century is chiefly distinguished by Roman attempts to overcome the resistance of the Armenians to that policy of absorption which they had adopted towards the Armenian Church. They possessed one immense advantage in the possession of facilities for the acquisition of knowledge. The passionate desire for learning led many able and ambitious Armenians to join the Roman communion. Perhaps the most distinguished was Mekhitar of Sebaste whose services to Armenian literature entitle him to perpetual remembrance. But before he could proceed with his work he had to yield to the Roman

Catholic demands. The monastery he established at Venice for educational and literary work is famous all over Europe, and the Mekhitarists in this way have placed the whole Armenian nation under permanent debt. Another movement was that of the Antonine Society which founded on Mount Lebanon a monastic institution. But these efforts whilst advancing ecclesiastical aims did not strengthen the nation. On the contrary they weakened it by driving asunder a people already reduced in numbers and wealth by long-continued oppression. Orthodox Armenians naturally hold the view "that the results were in no way commensurate with the efforts made or with the means employed." ("Church of Armenia," p. 87). None the less by the very friction between the two parties a force was generated which undeniably advanced the cause of education among a people ardently desirous of obtaining it. It is this which gives distinction to the Eighteenth Century. The Patriarchate was held by a succession of undistinguished men whose sole virtue was their devotion to their office. Simeon of Erivan (1763-1780) is

regarded as the outstanding figure of the century. A man of untiring energy, boundless courage, fertile in ideas, he did a great work for his church and people. He organised a college, introduced printing, and created a paper-mill. Wisely he foresaw the advantage of close association with Russia as the coming Power in the Near East, and intercourse with Russia is due to him. In the years immediately following his death, Armenians, sick of oppression by Persian and Turk, in ever increasing numbers sought a refuge over the Russian frontiers. Naturally they were warmly welcomed by the government of Catherine II. (1762-1796), and that of the Emperor Paul (1796-1801), and they repaid their welcome by greatly aiding Russia in her conquest of Caucasia.

With the acquisition of Georgia, in 1801, Russia came more closely into touch with Armenia and with the Armenian subjects of Turkey and Persia. The war with the latter Power in 1828-29 gave into her possession the whole of Persian Armenia which included the ancient seat of the Church at Etchmiadzin. It not only considerably extended Russia's

territory south of the Caucasus but largely increased the number of her Armenian subjects. But it brought the hierarchy face to face with new problems. First of all, it placed the Catholicos himself in an entirely new position. He was a Russian subject, and held his ecclesiastical office and exercised his duties under Russian control. In 1836 the *Pologenia* (Regulations) was issued. It involved an invasion of the independence of the Armenian Church for it carried with it control of the patriarchal administration, opening, as Ormanian admits, "very wide the door for the interference of the political authority." Under it the election of bishops, and of the Catholicos himself, rested finally with the Tsar. The Catholicos submits two names for any nomination to a vacant bishopric for the Tsar's final choice; whilst at the election of the head of the Church the Assembly presents to the Tsar two names. But what is more significant is that the minutes and decisions of the Synod or inner Council of the Church must be submitted to the Russian authorities for confirmation, and when issued they are headed, says Mr. Lynch, "By order.

of the Emperor of Russia." Restrictions are placed upon the personal movements of the Catholicos, and upon his official acts also. Russian officials and Russian troops must be present at every public function. Mr. Lynch gives a vivid account of the intrusive presence of both at the investiture of the late Catholicos, Mekerlich Khrimean, in 1893. It is evident that the smooth working of the Regulations of 1836 depends upon the personnel of the Russian staff. Reasonably and sympathetically administered they need not embitter the relations of the Government and the Armenian Church. Any reactionary administration can create disaster. Such was the action of the Viceroy Galitzin in 1903. He forcibly confiscated the revenues and property of the Church, breaking into the cathedral and treasury, carrying away coin and plate. These deplorable acts aroused the deepest feeling. Churches were closed. The teachers in the schools struck work. Neither threats nor bribes could move either. For nearly a whole year this deadlock continued. Then the late Viceroy Vorontsov-Daskkov was appointed, and the whole policy reversed.

Property was restored, and the freedom of the Church guaranteed. One may hope that with the growth of constitutional government in Russia, and the increasing power of the Duma, there will be no repetition of such a policy. But so long as attempts to curb or crab a sister-church in the interests of the Orthodox State Church are possible, so long will the Armenian Church in Russian territory be open to flagrant and indefensible ill-treatment.

The second problem grew out of rapid increase of the Armenian population in Russian territory. The Russo-Turkish war of 1877 resulted in the annexation of a large part of Turkish Armenian territory in the neighbourhood of Kars. Prior to the flight of over 300,000 Armenians into Russian territory during these recent months the Armenian population on Russian soil exceeded that of Turkish Armenia. Necessarily they are under Russian influence, political, social, and ecclesiastical. There are strong grounds for believing that the policy of Russification, which has been so strenuously enforced in other parts of the

Empire, will now be abandoned finally. Still the hierarchy cannot lose sight of the possibility that large numbers of Armenians, not closely in touch with their Church and people, may be lost both by the nation and the institution.

The sweeping changes in the internal Government of the Church which the first half of the Nineteenth Century witnessed have all been to the good. These changes were first made in Constantinople, the greatest centre of Armenian life in the Turkish Empire. They severely limited the hitherto unrestricted authority of the Patriarch. Councils were established, first (1841) for financial control solely, but, later, for general administration especially charged with the duty of supervising education. The Council consisted of fourteen ecclesiastics and twenty laymen. It received the sanction of the Ottoman Government in 1863, when it approved the Armenian Statute. In Europe, at least, improvement followed in every department. The change resulted in a "better instructed clergy, more suitable buildings, larger offerings, more solemn

ritual, more edifying sermons." ("The Church of Armenia," p. 94). These changes were welcomed by the clergy. Indeed, Ormanian declares (p. 94), "that the movement towards civilisation, progress, and liberty, which has stirred in the breast of the Armenian nation in Russia, in Turkey, and even in Persia, in modern times, is in a great measure due to the action of her clergy." The most remote parts of Armenia were affected by this progressive movement. Education was making rapid progress, and the interest of the Church was demonstrated by the labours of the clergy of all ranks and grades on its behalf. The conditions of the Armenian population in European and Asiatic Turkey were such, during the closing years of Sultan Abdul Hamid's reign, that had there been an entire cessation of educational work no one could have blamed the Armenian leaders. But whilst the assassin stalked through the land both clergy and people strenuously exerted themselves to maintain unimpaired their educational work. What are the facts? In 1902 the Patriarchate in a Report stated that there were no less than 1,200 Armenian schools

throughout Turkey with an attendance of 130,000 scholars of both sexes. Out of this number about 550 were in Armenia proper and Cilicia, with 45,000 pupils of both sexes. When the revolution took place in 1908, educational work received a great impetus. Societies which had been closed down by the Sultan were resuscitated, and their beneficial labours resulted in schools being opened even in the remotest corners of Armenia. Take one example. The Armenian Bishop of Kharput reported in 1913, that the number of schools in his province had grown from 73 in 1907, to 220 in 1913, and scholars from 5,658 to 28,500—practically one in six of the entire Armenian population (stated by the Patriarchate to be 168,000) was in attendance, *i.e.*, the same proportion of scholars to population as obtained in England and Wales in 1912-13! Yet Kharput had known trouble during those years, despite which this educational work steadily went forward. It reveals the passion of the Armenian for education. It shows also how the Church has bent its every energy to the task of intelligently preparing the members of its flock to take the utmost

advantage of the better days and richer opportunities it discerned ahead. These schools are maintained by endowments, fees, and voluntary contributions. With the exception of tiny grants by the Government in 1912-13 no aid has been received from this quarter. On the other hand Turkish schools, some 150 in Armenia with 17,000 scholars, mostly boys, are generously aided by the State, and yet fall far short of the Armenian schools in number and efficiency. The Kurds do not possess a single school anywhere.

WHAT ARE THE DISTINCTIVE CLAIMS OF THE ARMENIAN CHURCH?

(1) It claims to be *Apostolic*.

That is, in *origin* it claims a place alongside the proudest Churches in Christendom. Hence it is equal in point of antiquity and authority with any Churches of the East or West which make these the indispensable notes of a true branch of the Catholic Church. "The Apostolic origin of the Armenian Church," says Ormanian, "is established as an incontrovertible fact in ecclesiastical history.

And if tradition and historic sources which sanction this view should give occasion for criticism, these have no greater weight than the difficulties created with regard to the origin of other Apostolic Churches, which are universally admitted as such." ("The Church of Armenia," p. 5).

(2) It claims to be *Independent*.

The dominant Churches of the East and West repudiate this claim, and affirm that the Armenian Church owns allegiance to them. It is certain that through long and troubled centuries both Churches have made endless and forcible attempts to assert their *mastery* over this small national Church. These efforts to bring her into a state of dependency and submission the Armenians have resisted with all the strength, energy, and passion of their nature. Deprived of political independence they have clung all the more tenaciously to the integrity of their Church, whatever may have been the grounds upon which these attacks have been made.

(3) It claims to be *National*.

This claim rests equally upon an unassailable basis of historical fact. Through the

ages whilst every other bond has been broken save that of language, the Church has knit the scattered units of the nation into one indivisible whole. Its head has stood for each succeeding generation as the symbol of the national life. Deprived of a political head and even a political capital the people have, for at least five hundred years, looked to Etchmiadzin as the home of their people, the centre to which they looked for guidance, unfailing sympathy, and practical aid. It is "National" in a more complete sense than any other Church in Christendom which employs the term. Two facts emphasise its national character. First, wherever are members of the race, whatever may be their dogmatic creed or ecclesiastical polity, Etchmiadzin and the Catholicos are still the representative of their race, the depository of their traditions, and the fountain and centre of their hopes. Secondly, for perfectly obvious and adequate reasons, the Armenian Church commands no adherents outside the limits of the nation. Moslem, Orthodox Greek, Roman Catholic, and Evangelical Protestants have all in turn proselytised,

weakened her still further by drawing away from the national fold members of the flock. She herself has proselytised no Church or nation. The missionary spirit which in the earliest days of its history drove heroic men far and wide in the Caucasus, and steeled them to win the crown of martyrdom has vanished under the oppressive regimen of successive conquerors. Whether under the happier conditions which will follow this world-war, this spirit will not again lay hold of a race eminently aggressive and enterprising, is a question those who know Armenia best will have no difficulty in answering in the affirmative.

(4) It claims to be *Democratic*.

It is also episcopal. In other Churches the hierarchical principle has to a greater or less degree banished the democratic principle and shown itself opposed to the democratic spirit. "Among the Armenians," says Ormanian (p. 151), "the clergy are not looked upon as absolute masters and owners of the Church. The Church since its institution has belonged as much to the faithful as to the ministers of worship. In

virtue of this principle, and apart from sacramental acts, for the performance of which ordination is indispensable, nothing is done in ecclesiastical administration without the co-operation of the lay element." Logically it follows that every ministering servant at its altars occupies his place from the highest to the lowest by the free choice of the people. Equally the pastor of a remote village, and the Catholicos who addresses Popes and Potentates as "Dear Brother," are where they are by virtue of the power exercised by the laity. The village priest is elected by the people, often one of their own number, and his support is from their free-will offerings. The head of the Church is similarly elected by an assembly of delegates who are first elected by their various dioceses. The check upon the election of the Catholicos does not invade this principle in any vital degree. In a word, so far as representation and administration go, the Armenian Church is an ancient and successful blend of two opposite principles of church government, viz., the Congregational and the Episcopal. Further, the democratic

principle has been applied from most ancient times not only to government but also to the determination of doctrine. "The Armenian Church is the one wherein the democratic spirit," says Ormanian, "excels in all vividness and truth the leading men and the deputies, in a word, the representatives of the people, have ever continued to take their place, side by side, with bishops and doctors in the Council. They are known to have taken an active part in all discussions bearing on questions of doctrine and discipline, and have set their sign manual at the foot of deeds and canons as effective members of councils!" It is, therefore, not to be marvelled at that "clericalism" is unknown on the one hand, and indifference on the other.

(5) It claims to be *Liberal*.

Not for a moment must that be confused with lax views or with vagueness of belief in Christian dogmas. Her liberalism arises from her historical attitude towards that development of Christian doctrine which it has been the function of Church councils to mark, stereotype, and make binding upon the consciences of the faithful. The Armenian

Church has limited that function to the lowest possible degree by strictly limiting the number of Councils she recognises. Each successive Council has added to the number of dogmas which must be received under penalty of forfeiting eternal salvation. The Latin Church recognises twenty; the Greek Orthodox Church admits seven; the Armenian Church only three, viz., Nicea, Constantinople, in the Fourth Century, and Ephesus in the Fifth Century. "The Armenian Church . . . has thought it her duty to look upon the Council of Ephesus (431) as the last whereby the unanimity of the Church was maintained, in the conviction that we have in it the true traditional ground work of the universal Church The essential truths, on which were based the dogmatic constitution of the Christian mysteries, *i.e.*, the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Redemption, had been perfected by the definitions of the three Councils." ("The Armenian Church," p. 104). On these three cardinal truths the Armenian Church is adamant, and her conception of liberalism in the domain of religious thought does not permit these dogmas (upon which

the earliest councils were united) to be loosely held, much less called in question. She emphasises the principle of the early father "Unitas in necessariis." But having done this she affirms with equal emphasis that each one is at liberty to differ on points of secondary importance. Further, it is pointed out that the policy followed by the Latin and Greek Churches of increasing the number of dogmas declared by councils as authoritatively binding upon the faithful is harmful. "Every dogma with its mysteries," says Ormanian (p. 102), "constitutes a difficulty for the human understanding. And seeing that the Christian religion, which we profess, imposes on it such a difficulty to which it is our duty to submit, it is but wise that we should never overtax the difficulty." To adopt the contrary policy is to court disaster. First, it increases the difficulties felt by honest minds in accepting the Christian system. Secondly, by stereotyping Christian truth it sets it in opposition to the natural progress of thought which the ages abundantly manifest, and antagonises precisely those minds which most profoundly realise that in apprehension and expression

truth must be constantly changing. It forces on what should be a living and progressive spiritual organism the limits of a past and undeveloped age, forces the Church of to-day to be obscurantist. Thirdly, such a policy, as Church history fully proves, shatters the unity of the Church of Jesus Christ. The divisions which unhappily mar Christendom are the outcome of that multiplication of dogmas, which has been the only product of the Councils subsequent to the Council of Ephesus (431). On the other hand the Armenian Church by the contrary policy of theological and ecclesiastical liberalism is preparing "a way for Christianity in the future" (p. 111) by which Ormanian means she is preparing a base for the reconciliation of antagonistic Churches. "It will be to her a lofty title to glory if ever she be the means of tendering to Christianity the possibility of a reconciliation—a contingency which is ever probable." (p. 113.)

* * * *

In order to remove some erroneous impressions as to the real character of the Armenian Church, we add a brief statement

on its attitude towards other Churches and on the distinctive marks of its worship and practice. First of all, as against the Latin and Greek Orthodox Churches, it proclaims toleration and denies "that any particular or national Church, however vast she may be, has the power to arrogate to herself the character of universality"; in other words, she rejects the intolerant axiom of the Roman Church that whoso is beyond its pale has no part in eternal salvation. On the other hand she separates herself from the Greek Orthodox Church, which refuses the sacrament to any who are not in strict conformity with her practices. Lynch commits himself to the statement (Vol. 2, p. 94): "The Armenians are scarcely less Protestant than [the Protestant missionaries] themselves in their attitude towards the Church of Rome." It is certain that they cultivate friendly relations with the members of the American Mission, and invite their ministers to preach in the parish churches. They differ from the Roman Church in various and important particulars. The doctrine of the seven sacraments is not accepted by the Armenian Church. But with

the exception of extreme unction they are practised. Baptism of infants is by immersion complete and horizontal. Sprinkling is only resorted to if absolutely necessary. Confirmation and the communion immediately follow baptism, and therein is the completeness of baptism demonstrated. The sacraments of confirmation and communion need not be delayed to be administered by a bishop. The sacrament of communion recognises no distinction of age. It is administered in both elements by means of pieces of consecrated wafer dipped in wine. The wafer is in a single piece, unleavened, circular, stamped into a cross. The wine must be pure, *i.e.*, without water. The communicants stand up, and the priest breaks off a bit of wafer, soaks it, and places it on the tongue. It is customary to reserve the sacrament for the sick and others.

Confession is usual before communion, is general, and no examination by the priest is permitted. A few days interval occur between confession and absolution to permit suitable preparation for the communion. The sacrament of holy orders is by the imposition of

hands, and the gift of appropriate badges for each order. Extreme unction is only given to the priesthood, episcopate, and Catholicosate, and then only after death. The sacrament of matrimony is known under the name of the sacrament of the crown (Psak). Divorce is canonically permitted, and is pronounced under the authority of the Catholicos or Patriarch. The clergy are married and celibate. The married (secular) are the parish priests, and marriage must precede ordination. Widowed clergy cannot re-marry unless they relinquish orders. Usually a year elapses between marriage and ordination. The celibate (regular) clergy are trained chiefly in the monasteries. The Armenian monastic system has nothing in common with those of the West. "The days of anchorites and contemplative monks have irrevocably passed." Armenian monasteries simply exist to prepare the higher (celibate) clergy. The rule as to Sunday follows primitive custom. It begins on Saturday and is from sunset to sunset. It must be kept holy, *i.e.*, free from toil for gain. Work may be done, however, for charity or piety.

Ancient custom prescribes that the sacraments of confession and communion should be recognised on the occasions of the five great festivals of the Theophany, Resurrection, Assumption, Transfiguration, and of the Exaltation of the Cross. Days of abstinence are frequent. Fasts are rare, and are a work of supererogation. In the East the separation of the sexes in sacred edifices is invariable. In the West the rule no longer exists.

Note as to Numerical Strength of the Armenian Church.

The following Statistical Table is taken from the invaluable and authoritative book on "The Church of Armenia" by the former Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, Malachia Ormanian. It may, therefore, be taken as an approximately accurate estimate of the numerical strength of the Armenian Church in 1913-14, when the volume was published.

PART III.

- (A) THE MODERN PROBLEM.
- (B) ARMENIAN ASPIRATIONS.
- (C) THE PRESENT OPPORTUNITY.

PART III.

(A) **THE MODERN PROBLEM.**

The problem confronting the Powers to-day does not differ in essence from the problem of Armenia any time since 1878, when the land and people definitely came within the scope of European politics through the Treaty of San Stefano. To-day it differs only in magnitude and urgency. Note the outstanding fact of these last forty years of Armenian History—the depopulating of the country either by massacres, deportation, or by the natural flight of the inhabitants from absolute insecurity of life, honour, and property. Let me again remind readers that, at a moderate estimate, 500,000 lives had been sacrificed in a single generation before the shameful holocaust since the outbreak of the war! Further, a steady stream of emigration has flowed Northward

and Eastward to Russian Armenia or Westward to the United States. The fact need not be laboured. The land has been denuded of population. *That is the incontestable fact!* The policy was sheer madness. The only asset of Turkish Armenia, so far as the Turkish Government was concerned, was the taxable population. Voluntarily it cut off the only source of profit to the Government which it was capable of utilising. Despite grinding exactions by tax-gatherers, receipts from these vilayets steadily decreased. On the other hand the conditions of the population, who braved massacre and outrage year by year, became more desperate. As we have reminded readers again and again, the vast majority of the Armenians are agriculturists. But even the primitive industry demands at least two things—adequate labour and a prospect of adequate reward. With the ever-increasing attacks on the adult male population over ever-widening areas labour became scarce, and when emigration drained still further the ranks of those who tilled the soil the industry dwindled perceptibly. Then the poor crops

of the peasant farmers were mercilessly seized by rapacious officials. An unpaid soldiery recouped itself for the loss of pay by plundering peasants, and to crown all hordes of Kurds in the winter quartered themselves on the Armenian villages, despite the law forbidding the practice, and, when they could not obtain the supplies demanded, outraging and murdering, unchecked and unpunished, even encouraged by the authorities. For the last forty years that has been the normal experience of the peasantry. Economically and socially the conditions grew more appalling—the people poorer, the prospect of improvement or deliverance more distant. Sooner or later a crisis would have arisen in the ordinary course of events. Even the worm will turn, and the most despotically governed and cruelly repressed people will not always give the cheek to the smiter. Secret societies, though frowned upon by the clergy and missionaries, gathered strength and influence, not only among Armenians who had left their native country, but in the vilayets themselves. It is not improbable that, goaded beyond further endurance, en-

couraged and armed by the revolutionaries, a rising might have taken place which would have produced unexpected results.

The war in which the "Young Turk" party have elected to stand in with and share the fortunes of the Central Powers has precipitated the crisis. There is good reason to believe that leading Armenians strained every nerve to dissuade the Young Turks from taking an active part in the war. They pointed out, what they saw clearly, that if Turkey joined in, she was bound to lose whichever side came out victorious. They also foresaw the peril of their own people in the event of Turkey going to war. Their counsels, in which many experienced old Turks concurred, fell on deaf ears. Turkey entered the war, and simultaneously began an organised massacre of Armenians all over the territory it still governed. It is the avowed purpose of the gang who govern at Constantinople to "rid themselves of the Armenian question by ridding themselves of the Armenians." Their official paper, the "Tanine" openly advocated the extermination or forcible conversion *of all Armenian*

women as "the only means of saving the Empire."* "The Great Assassin" conceived the policy, but he had neither the capacity nor the willing instruments to secure its complete application. But to-day all that was ever attempted during the regime of the Sultan Abdul Hamid is easily surpassed by the cool, calculating, reckless crowd who direct the policy of the Turkish Empire in Europe and Asia Minor. Where Sultan Abdul Hamid slew tens they slay hundreds, where he slayed hundreds they slay thousands. The world has never seen anything like the extent of it, the horror of it, since the days of Tamerlane.

It is obviously impossible to indicate by statistics the extent of this wholesale butchery of an unoffending, unarmed population. But we venture here to make a digression for the purpose of saying that any reliable evidence received hitherto does not offer positive proof of direct German complicity. Indeed, the protests presented to the Chancellor indicate that these horrors are not approved of by the

*Quoted in "La Guerre Sociale" (Paris), Thursday, September 16th, 1915. No. 439.

whole German nation. His previous records in Greece, Chios, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Sassun, Adana, etc., leave no room for the belief that the Turk stood in need of any tuition in "frightfulness" from his Teutonic ally. Nevertheless, the German Government, with the influence it wields in Constantinople, had it undoubtedly in its power to hold the arch-assassins—its Young Turk allies—in check. By failing to do this the Kaiser's Government must for ever bear a large measure of responsibility for the blood of these hundreds of thousands of innocent victims—an awful responsibility before God, civilisation, and history.

Why did the rulers of Germany remain callous spectators of the most stupendous crime in history? The reason is not far to seek. It suits German schemes of colonisation of Asia Minor by Germans of which a beginning was made long before the war both in the Adana district as well as in the Caucasus. It will be a surprise to many in this country to learn that there are already several German villages in the Caucasus—Annenfeldt, with a population of some three thousand

Germans, being the most important settlement. Professor Garton Volran, of the University of Aix-en-Provence, deals ably with this aspect of the Armenian question in an article in "Le Semaphore de Marseille" (Nov. 24th, 1915), "Armenia 'cleared' of Armenians," the only element in the country capable of disputing the economic domination of the future German colonists, would offer a clear field for the prolific Teuton who, in a generation, would be in a position to exploit the vast natural resources of the country to the incalculable benefit of German industry. It would go a long way to realise the German dream of freeing their industries from dependence on the British Empire for its supply of raw material. But it is the political aspect of such German colonisation of Armenia that would be fraught with the most far-reaching consequences to the detriment of British and Russian interests of the first importance. A strong and growing German settlement in the Armenian highlands would dominate both the Northern route from the Black Sea *via* Tiflis and Julfa to Persia, and the Mesopotamian plains on the South, including the now

famous Bagdad Railway. A German colony, if allowed to take root and grow in these regions, would be a dangerous centre of intrigue among the neighbouring Moslem peoples—Tartars, Persians, Afghans, Arabs, and even the turbulent tribes on the Indian frontier.

What are the inevitable results of this ruthless policy in Asia Minor?

(1) The denudation of the whole of Asia Minor of its Armenian population, *i.e.*, the best and most capable of its inhabitants. The process is made the more revolting by the means employed.

(2) The complete ruin of any remnant that may escape—socially and economically they are to be in such a position that they will have no political existence or significance.

(3) The consequent ruin of a vast, fertile, country which would be left entirely in the hands of the very worst human elements within its borders. This is the modern problem confronting the civilised world.

Now, Europe is affected by this policy. The very fact that humanitarian sentiment will not allow Armenia to perish without

some costly attempts to prevent so hideous a crime, or to mitigate the sufferings, to pour oil and wine into her wounds, imposes upon Great Britain, France, Russia, and even the United States, financial burdens of no ordinary character and magnitude. This most brutal, most irrational policy of the Turkish Government places upon the civilised world a burden for which its colossal folly is directly and solely responsible.

It affects certain Powers even more vitally. Just as the Turkish misgovernment of her Balkan provinces made them a menace to the peace of Europe, a storm centre from which at any hour a gust of passion might blow which would—eventually did—involve Christendom in a strife of unparalleled dimensions, so the conditions of Asia Minor in general, and Armenia in particular, were a menace to the peace, tranquillity, and good government of adjacent states. It was impossible for Russia or Great Britain to remain indifferent spectators whilst Turkish Asia Minor was in a constant state of turmoil and unrest. To a lesser degree that was true of every State which had commercial or territorial interests

in Asia Minor. The Treaty of Berlin is sufficient proof of the signatory Powers' consciousness of duty in this regard. Russia in the San Stefano Treaty had gone further. She was prepared to undertake the duty of securing good government for the Christian population of Asia Minor, was prepared to secure it by occupying Turkish territory till the reforms were accomplished facts. The Russo-Turkish Agreement was set aside. It was a stupendous blunder for which Europe pays dearly to-day. Great Britain in accordance with her treaty obligations, and in pursuance of the policy embodied in the Cyprus Convention, again and again sought to affect the reforms to which Turkey had solemnly pledged herself. It was in vain. Russia stood aside. Germany openly supported Turkey. Great Britain alone was impotent to coerce Turkey, to secure an improvement of conditions which were a standing menace to the peace and tranquillity of the Near East. These considerations have become more vitally important since the war began, more urgent because this war offers an opportunity of putting an end to

conditions which have been a disgrace to civilisation for half a century, and which, if allowed to continue, will remain a perpetual menace to the future peace of Europe.

It may, however, be urged that the problem is simplified now by the fact that the Armenians are no longer a factor in the situation. Diminished by massacre and deportation, they can now be dismissed from consideration of the wider problem of Asia Minor. That is a hasty and ill-founded conclusion. At a moderate estimate, 500,000 Turkish Armenians are safe in the parts of the vilayets of Van and Erzeroum, now in Russian occupation, and as refugees in Russian Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Of this great number of refugees the vast mass will return to their homes. Is it suggested that they are to be left under the old conditions? Is there to be no attempt on the part of the Powers to compensate these peasants for the mental and moral suffering of the last few months, for the economic losses? We suggest that, so far from that being the case, upon the Powers rests the duty and responsibility of re-establishing

upon more tolerable conditions—political, social, and economic—the Armenian population of the six vilayets, nay, of the whole of Asia Minor.

Further, all over the six vilayets and Cilicia there remain, hidden in the mountain fastnesses, tens of thousands of Armenians—in the gross a total neither small nor unimportant—who will venture out when this time of bitter persecution is past—a remnant of the race clinging to the soil of their Homeland with the same tenacity they have displayed through the centuries of Turkish misgovernment. Have they no claim upon the Powers? Is nothing to be done for *them*? Are they again to be left to the tender mercies of Kurds and Turks?

Thus the Modern Problem confronting the Allies for solution appears to be threefold, viz. :

(A) *Political*, that is, to secure for the Armenians, as for all the inhabitants of Asia Minor, *good Government*, under which life, property, and honour will be secure. This involves, by general agreement, the termina-

tion of the Turkish regime and the establishment of some other Government from which the Turk will be excluded. Whatever would have been the political condition of the Turkish people in Asia Minor had they been driven out of Europe by the United Balkan States—an event very imminent at one stage—their policy and conduct since War began definitely fixes their political fate. The authority and power they have abused must pass from them for ever. Henceforth they must be under authority, not exercise it. This is work solely for the Governments of the Allied Powers.

(B) *Social—the repatriation of the Armenian population on their ancient land under conditions which will enable them to enter upon a new stage of their national life—conditions which will ensure in the future the realisation of their ideals of individual life, their aspirations as a people. Here the Powers can find in the co-operation of the Church, the national societies and institutions, and well-affected individuals, powerful assistance in this difficult but indispensable task.*

(c) *Economic*.—This is perhaps the biggest task, but it is not the most difficult. It is to secure for this population an opportunity of developing their industrial capacities and the economic possibilities of their land—its vast mineral wealth, its agricultural possibilities, etc. Here experienced advisers and the financial aid of the Powers will be necessary for an indefinite period. But as the undoubted wealth of the country becomes better known in Europe, and especially by the Allies, this ought to be easily obtained. In this task the Government can join hands with *private enterprise* and *private effort*. The opening up of ways and means of communication, railways, telegraphs, etc., are tasks for which the Powers would be responsible in the first instance. The operations by private individuals can be encouraged and facilitated, and thus the necessary capital could be attracted to the country. At the same time it will be the duty of the Powers or of the new Government to save the wealth of the land from greedy exploiters who aim at their own immediate enrichment at the cost of permanent economic injury to the people as a whole.

In other words, the modern problem before the Allies with regard to this land and people is the establishment of an Autonomous Armenia under conditions which open to the New Armenian State a vista of settled, ordered, and progressive national existence.

(B) ARMENIAN ASPIRATIONS.

The soul of Armenia is not crushed, much less dead, despite the wounds inflicted and the ignominy heaped upon her people. Nay, so far from being prostrate, it shews itself to-day insurgent, active, combative. Nothing is more sure. Nothing is more amazing. Armenia is at once illustration and proof of the impossibility of destroying a people or even of permanently injuring, maiming its life. Through all these centuries of cruel misgovernment, the Armenian people never for one moment lost their consciousness of separate national existence. Politically enslaved by a people inferior in every regard save numerical strength and brutal force, they kept their soul free. They were not only "obstinate nationalists," they were nationalists who cherished the hope of a national revival, and passionately clung to the one institution, their Church, which reminded them of a glorious

past. It was the prophecy of an equally glorious future. No minor nationality in all the world was so conscious of its past, prouder of it, more willingly dwelt in thought upon it, in a word, lived more in the past, than did the Armenian people. But it is equally true to say that no nation was so intent, absorbed, fascinated, by its future. It was that vague, dimly seen, future which sustained the Armenian people through the long-drawn years of their bitter servitude.

In this connection it is well to mark the clarifying effect upon their dreams of the future produced by the prosperity of their compatriots in Russian Armenia. Released from the evils and ignominy of Turkish rule, they became new men, springing up into political manhood in a day. Further, it clearly indicated the road along which, first, emancipation from their present servitude, and then, the realization of their fondest aspirations could be secured. They must escape the "rule" of the Turk, that was the immediate objective. How strongly this was realised may be seen in the growth of revolutionary societies, viz: the Dashnaksutioun and Hunchtakist, within

and without the Empire. The clergy opposed the movement fearful lest it should awaken the resentment of a fanatical government suspicious of any signs of unusual vitality on the part of their Christian subjects. The outbreak of war takes from Armenian propagandists any initiative, any power to directly affect their political future, and leaves it in the hands of the Allied Powers. No one more clearly recognises this than the leaders of these societies. Their influence and energy are now employed in strengthening the Russian forces operating on the Eastern frontier of Turkish Armenia. But the movement supplies irresistible proofs of the widespread aspiration of the people for the end of the reign of terror, and for the advent of a new day of freedom. Other aspirations may have been and are undoubtedly cherished by different sections of the Armenian race. The dominating, universal, aspiration was the end of Turkish mis-rule which had long become intolerable. Every sign of honourable prosperity discerned among their compatriots across the frontier, every report of prosperity among those who had ventured

further afield sharpened the edge of their desire for, at least, some approximation of their conditions to those enjoyed by Armenians under other rule. The revolutionary movement not only embodied Armenian aspirations but made Armenians, at length articulate. Their press was the vehicle through which they voiced their demands, uttered their determination to be free. Then was seen by all who cared to observe this forgotten race, the gaunt, tattered figure of Armenia, bleeding, tragic, with outstretched hands appealing to the heart and conscience of the civilised world. The soul of Armenia was indeed not dead. It was alive, and "thenceforward there was a nation demanding to be united in a State—a soul, as it were, wandering in search of a body in which to begin life over again. [Lord Acton : "History of Freedom," p. 276.]

It is necessary to be extremely explicit as to the nature of Armenian aspirations. They have been grotesquely misrepresented by a Turkophile press. It is necessary to declare, first and foremost, that Armenians do not aspire to a restoration of the ancient Kingdom of Armenia. Mr.

J. B. Firth in the May (1915) issue of the "Fortnightly Review," after declaring that the Armenians "as a race have no political aptitude," goes on to declare that "there is not the faintest hope of reviving the ancient Kingdom of Armenia, which was a decaying Power, even in Roman days." If this aspiration was seriously entertained it would go far to establish Mr. Firth's assertion "that as a race, the Armenians have no political aptitude." On the contrary, that aspiration is regarded as fantastic and impossible. One of the leading Armenian writers, Archag Tchobanian, in a lecture delivered in Paris, said definitely, "Armenians do not ask for the restoration of their ancient Kingdom. They are conscious that under existing conditions such an end is unrealisable." Could Mr. Firth produce a single recognised leader of Armenian opinion who entertains any project for reviving the ancient Kingdom of Armenia? This confusion of two distinct things is calculated to prejudice Armenia's case, to arouse opposition to the aspiration she does entertain for autonomous national existence. That is a well-

grounded, practicable, and legitimate aspiration entertained by the people as a whole.

Equally, is it a misrepresentation of Armenian aspirations to depict Armenia as entertaining thoughts of future domination over other races in Asia Minor. Representative Armenians indignantly repudiate any such idea. On the contrary, they hold that any domination by one race of other races is illegitimate, morally detrimental, and politically unwise in the highest degree. They aspire to equality. They recognise that in their national conditions are seen the most damning indictment of any political and social domination. In their own life is seen its most fatal fruits! They aspire to be the instruments of regenerating not merely their own beloved Armenia but the whole of Asia Minor. They fondly believe that to be their national mission, and they are prepared to undertake it. Says Tchobanian ["The People of Armenia," p. 20] "all those populations and all those races . . . need the regenerating influence of the breath of modern life." Is there any other race in Asia Minor more qualified to give that to peoples

“steeped in ignorance”? On this point Lynch [Vol. I, p. 465] says: “In the Armenians we have a people who are peculiarly adapted to be the intermediaries of the new dispensation.’ Without aspiring to any domination which can only be harmful to both parties, the Armenian people see clearly that they can exercise a beneficent role in Asia Minor among races ignorant, forgotten, despised.

Still less do the Armenians look forward to a day and a power of revenge on their oppressors. They have no revengeful feelings or desires against either Turk or Kurd. They are prepared to let bygones be bygones. Tchobanian proudly declares that “Armenians do not ask for so much as a new crusade; they in no way contemplate reprisals against those who have oppressed and humiliated them for centuries. Not the slightest spirit of religious fanaticism exists in the aspirations and claims of the Armenians.” [“People of Armenia,” pp. 63-4]. Perhaps the best proof of their good-will is seen in the fact that they have opened their schools—the best in Turkish Armenia—to the children of the Kurds, the very people who have been the

instruments employed by the Turkish Central Authority in the unspeakable massacres that have stained the page of history any time these last forty years.

In what then are seen the aspirations and fondest hopes of the Armenian people ?

First and foremost is the claim for Armenian Autonomy—Home Rule for the six vilayets, viz., Bitlis, Diarbekir, Erzeroum, Kharput, Sivas, and Van. In addition they claim the vilayet of Adana or Cilicia as it is best known in Armenian history.

They ask for an administrative autonomy, “ for a rule of order and of law, to be established in all earnestness, under the direct and effective control of the Powers, in those provinces where their race has dwelt, toiled, and yielded the fruits of their labour for thousands of years. They desire to be allowed to live and to grow under normal conditions, under conditions which will permit them to play, unfettered and for the good of all, their role of workers in the cause of civilisation ” [“ People of Armenia,” p. 64]. This was written in the early days of 1914, before the present calamity befell Europe and

Armenia. In the main it may stand unchallenged. The only alteration which the present situation suggests is one which, though debatable, will, one feels convinced, commend itself to the matured judgment alike of the Allied Powers and of the Armenian people. The larger portion of the Armenian race are now in Russian territory. Under the wise and tolerant rule of the late Viceroy Dashkoff they progressed exceedingly and are contented. Would it be wise to separate the other portion of the Armenian race from their brethren under the Russian Flag? Why not put the new autonomous State under the immediate protection of the Allies, with Russia as their mandatory? That would give a semblance of unity to the whole race, especially as their Ecclesiastical Head at Etchmiadzin is already a Russian subject and exercises his office under Russian protection.

The addition of Cilicia is vital. Whilst the concession of self-government in the six vilayets—the area most associated with the history of the race, and where they, at least, before the recent wholesale massacres and

deportations, preponderated as a single coherent racial unit—would gratify national sentiment, there are other considerations which must not be overlooked. Would it be wise or politic to leave the new autonomous State without an outlet on the Mediterranean? It may be objected that to give Adana to the Armenian State would clash with French interests in North Syria or with Italian interests in Adalia. Not necessarily, and unless it was the deliberate judgment of the Allied Powers—an inconceivable judgment—that the interests of the two Powers must have priority over the interests of the new State, it ought to be possible to reconcile all legitimate and reasonable claims to this part of Asia Minor. Armenia's claim is particularly strong. Historically it was the territory which formed as we have already shown, the Lesser Kingdom of Armenia, which lasted to 1375 A.D. Geographically it would be the natural commercial outlet for the new State, and unless it is to be put in the same situation as Serbia, "tied up in a sack," to its economic and commercial detriment, Cilicia must be conceded to the new autonomous

State. Otherwise Armenia would be dependent upon some adjacent State for facilities in communicating with the outer world. Failing this, it is certain that, however the new State acquiesced at the beginning, in her case, as in the case of Serbia, it would be an unflinching and fruitful source of discontent, agitation and strife.

Further, it is essential to include this area in the new State in order that again they may realise to the full their nationality, the unity of their race, their place among other races. It is not too much to say that this aspiration has been the one passion of the Armenian people ever since they lost, in 1375, their separate political existence. Even the most casual study of the history of the Armenian people shows this idea as the golden thread running through and linking up the life of each succeeding generation. It has illuminated the people's life in their darkest, most tragic hours. One may be sure it has not abated one jot by the recent awful catastrophe. Again one quotes Lynch's phrase, "the most obstinate nationalists the world has ever seen." The unanimity of the

people in pursuing this aim even now when the careless world thinks THEY ARE no longer, is startling. The "grit" which Lynch affirms to be the secret cause of the persistency of the race is seen most convincingly in the tenacity with which even now they cling to the aspiration of a revived national existence—self-governed, free to aim at and achieve their own political, social, and cultural life, and work out their own salvation on the lines dictated by their instinct and genius. With this aspiration and this claim the Allied Powers must reckon.

Armenians may be given credit for knowing the economic possibilities of their own land. None know it better—not even the Germans. But they realise that only as a self-governing people can they secure the utmost industrial results the natural wealth and fertility of the country offer to wise and industrious use of both. Self government, if granted, would allow them to devote their energies and genius to the economic development of the country, otherwise both would be dissipated in political agitation for the autonomy claimed but withheld. The

history of the Balkan States affords an example and a warning! Only since full autonomy was secured have the Balkan States made any economic progress. Would it be wise to postpone the immediate concession of a legitimate claim the Powers may have to concede later, after a period of unrest, agitation, possibly strife. The resources of the Armenian people are slender—too slender to permit of waste upon objects which might and ought to have been secured at the outset of their new era of national existence. The task before autonomous Armenia will be herculean in character for a numerically small and impoverished people, even if all the aid, financial and administrative, they may require is generously forthcoming. But if their legitimate claims are conceded, they will be free to devote themselves to it with undivided minds, with an enthusiasm not chilled by the consciousness of rights withheld. They will be sustained by the knowledge that every difficulty faced and overcome, every obstacle surmounted, every problem solved, leads them perceptibly nearer to their economic and industrial regeneration.

(C) THE PRESENT OPPORTUNITY.

No one can doubt for a moment that the future of Asia Minor has been discussed, and in principle settled by the Allied Powers. The partition of Asia Minor is not a new idea in modern politics. It has been forced upon progressive States by the unprogressive peoples who dominate the vast territory to its undoing, political, social, and economic. Turkish mis-government, sooner or later, would have forced the Powers to take action. They must have intervened to secure decent conditions for the population—at least safety of the honour, life and property of its Christian population. Whether that would have meant in Asia Minor what it meant in the Balkans may be debatable, but, it is certain, in the end Turkey would have emerged with loss of territory. Not that partition would have greatly mattered in that region. No territory on earth has been so frequently cut

up and distributed among rival and antagonistic states. For at least 3,000 years it has been the battle ground of contending nations and races, and every fresh conquest has involved the whole land in revolutionary changes. The map of one century is totally misleading for the next. We have already referred to the article on the partition of Asia Minor in the May issue of the "Fortnightly Review." There the author declared that partition would not outrage any national sentiment—adding that there was none to be outraged. That may be true of the majority of the nations having representatives in its cosmopolitan population. But it is not universally true. It may be true, for example, of the Greeks of whom there are large numbers in Asia Minor. Partition would arouse curious interest as to their new masters. It would in no sense be a national concern. They would quietly accept any arrangement which appeared just and wise in the eyes of the Powers.

But, it must be emphatically said, this is not true of the Armenian population. We assume that at the close of the war the

Allied Powers will have definite possession, and will exercise the authority the war has placed in their hands. It will certainly not be used to re-establish the Turk in Asia Minor. No one will be bold enough to propose, after the astounding events of the last six months, that, driven from Europe, Turkey, by the action of the Powers, should find his authority set up again in the lands he has deluged in Christian blood! The issue of the war, we are confident, will bring to naught Germany's ambitious schemes. The concessions obtained from Old Turk and Young Turk will be null and void. Turk and German being no longer in Asia Minor as factors in the situation, the Allied Powers will be free to re-organise the political condition of the whole of Western Asia.

Here will be the opportunity for the Powers to do justice to Armenia. Hitherto the opportunity has been lacking. Nothing but an international agreement to coerce Turkey would have succeeded. That was never within the bounds of possibility, if only because of Germany's attitude. Nor can we forget that by the Convention of Cyprus

Great Britain had bound herself to maintain the territorial integrity of Turkey in Asia Minor. But now the road is clear. It is open to the Powers to attempt reparation for the suffering directly entailed on the Armenian population of Asia Minor by the inaction and indifference of Europe these last forty years, and thanks to the Treaty of Berlin which has proved itself the most disastrous blunder of modern times. The war has wrought immeasurable evils in the life of mankind. It has done one good thing—it has made possible for the remnant of the Armenian people deliverance from the bloody rule of the Turk. In the past even sympathetic Powers could protest, not the want of will, but the absence of opportunity. They cannot now, for it is to their hands. Obviously it is for Great Britain *the* opportunity she should eagerly recognise and thankfully accept. We go further, and declare that it is an opportunity all her past efforts on behalf of the Armenians pledge her to grasp and use. Not to do so would be to stultify her past endeavours, stamp them as insincere as well as futile. Lord Salisbury has made open confession of

our past sin. "We put our money on the wrong horse." *Confession is not reparation.* If we have done nothing more than make confession of the blunder which was worse than a crime, it is because we have lacked opportunity. At the victorious end of this war, upon this country, and upon her Government will rest the responsibility of securing complete justice for the people who have suffered so terribly as the direct result of our action at Berlin in 1878. No, not merely justice, but some compensation also for the unimaginable suffering and loss they have endured. The only reparation we can offer which the Armenian people can accept, is the gift of *autonomy*—guaranteed by the Powers, and actually established by their aid, financial and administrative.

Further, the substantial agreement of the Entente Powers, not merely in principle, but in actual practical details, shows that the opportunity for decisive action has arrived. Hitherto that has not been attained. But the war has forced these Powers to fall into line on the question of Asia Minor. The old obligations and traditional policies were

rudely pushed aside, nay, destroyed by the action of the Turk. He definitely committed himself to the policy of the Central Powers. Therefore, by the very force of political circumstances, Great Britain, France, and Russia are driven into one line of action. It is no longer the contention of humanitarians in this country and France merely that Armenia must be saved. Statesmen in these two countries realise that the hour has come for recognising, frankly and fully, that Russia's policy in 1877 is the only possible policy. That was to take Armenia out of the power of the Turk. It is an immense gain for Armenian nationalism. It brings the race to the very verge of their hopes and aspirations. In the agreement of the Allies is to be based the confident expectation that, given the success of the Entente Powers, and failure is not conceivable, the concession of autonomy to the Armenians in the six vilayets and Cilicia is a foregone conclusion.

The pledges given by the Allied Powers to the small nationalities are surely the most solemn guarantee that the interests of Armenia will not be forgotten or ignored.

For millions of men throughout the civilised world the main justification for this war lies in the avowed purpose of the Entente Powers to secure for minor nationalities the rights and liberties for which they contend. Its appalling costs in blood and treasure are only justifiable on the ground that at length these peoples are to be free, and that every system of government which impairs, limits, or suppresses that freedom must be destroyed. At long last it is being recognised that the world cannot afford to do without her small peoples who must be either independent or autonomous if they are to find adequate expression for their national genius, if they are to obtain tolerable conditions "to think, live, love, and labour for the benefit of all." ["War and Democracy," p. 49]. Can we guarantee them that freedom? Certainly, if responsible statesmen are honest in the definition of their policies, sincere in the public expression of their aims. Take, for instance, this definition of the objects for which the Allies are fighting, made by the Prime Minister in the middle of October last. Mr. Asquith sent a message to a meeting addressed

by Professor Masaryk on "The Problem of Small Nations in the European Crisis," in these terms :— "First and foremost the Allies are fighting for the liberties of small nations, to the end that they be left in future free from the tyranny of their more powerful neighbours to develop their own national life and institutions." Of course, if pledges are "mere scraps of paper" to be torn and flung to the winds when the occasion which called them forth has passed, this specific and solemn pledge of Mr. Asquith's has no value whatever. But we refuse, and the Armenian people the world over will refuse to take so cynical a view of the Prime Minister of England's solemn declaration. Upon that, and upon equally solemn and binding declarations made by the leading statesmen of our Allies, Armenia bases her strong hopes of the realisation of her racial and political aspirations. Nor do we think Armenia will be disappointed.

The following remarkable story which has appeared in the Russian press shows that the Turks, apparently under German inspiration, recognised the time had come for

a revolutionary change of their policy in dealing with Armenia and the Armenians. It is an extract from an article in the "Rurki Viedomosti" [No. 205], by M. Oganovski, entitled "Armenia without Armenians." In the early days of the war the Turks, probably under German influence, in order to incite the frontier provinces against the Russians, hoped that the Armenians would make common cause with them against Russia. The diary of a Turkish officer killed in the recent fighting contains the following:—" *If our Armenians had been with us we should have defeated the Russians long ago.*" Representative Armenians who were at Van at the outbreak of the war with Germany, relate that Tahsin Bey, the Governor of Van, and Naji Bey, a prominent Young Turk, sent with a special mission to Van, anticipating Turkey's entry into the war, were inducing the Armenians to join the Turks and form raiding bands. No limit was put to numbers. They offered to form hundreds of bands, and arm and equip them on their own account. They made no secret of the moral and political value of the Armenians joining

hands with the Turks. As a reward for the desired co-operation Naji Bey held out bright prospects of the results of the "War of Liberation." The Young Turks, confident of victory, hoped to drive the Russians over the Caucasus mountains and form the Transcaucasian provinces into a Georgian, an Armenian, and a Tartar Autonomous State. They promised to extend the autonomous Armenia by including in it parts of the vilayets of Van and Erzeroum.

Assuming that this extraordinary offer was made to the Armenians, their response was what we should expect a shrewd people would give. "In vain is the net spread in the sight of any bird." Promises the Turks have made to the Armenians profusely. This was only one more. Supposing, however, the Armenians had been foolish enough to have been caught by the plausible Young Turk emissary? What was the utmost infamy they could have dreaded? That having used them, and found his purpose served, the Turk would ignore his promises and withhold his rewards. *That* is the utmost infamy of which the Entente Powers can be guilty. We refuse

to believe that such immeasurable guilt will be theirs.

Supposing, however, Armenia is cruelly defeated in her hopes. Supposing, and the supposition is not an impossible one, that no help came to Armenia from Europe. It may be that at the Peace Congress the assembled statesmen of Europe in hammering out terms of peace may see fit once again to sacrifice Armenia and the Armenians to their own apparent interests—that, despite all their high-sounding declarations, at the last moment they may ignore them, not discerning where their true interests, the interests of peace lie. Once before Armenia in her sore need turned to Europe, sought from the Christian Powers aid against the advancing Moslem hordes, and found no response. They were utterly subdued, and for centuries lay forgotten beneath the yoke of the oppressor. That has not destroyed the people, nor extinguished their “obstinate nationality,” nor weakened their persistent demand to be free. If Europe decrees that Armenia must be dealt with as a pawn in the diplomatic game, be moved hither and thither,

given to this Power or the other, that will not end the Armenian question. It will still remain to be faced. Prof. Masaryk reminded his audience at King's College that the small nations of the Slav race "continually striving and fighting for liberty and independence . . . confronted the statesmen of Europe with the problem of the small nations. (*The Times*, Oct. 20th, 1915). It was this perpetual unrest, this "striving and fighting" which made the Balkans the storm-centre of Europe. To deny Armenia her legitimate rights, is to thrust the Armenians back upon the same course of action the Christian subjects of the Porte adopted, in other words, to transplant the Balkan question from Europe to Asia Minor. There in the heart of Asia Minor will be a Christian people, virile, intelligent, prolific, with an abnormally developed capacity for intrigue—the result of centuries of oppression and suppression—above all conscious of the wrong done her by the Powers after their solemn promises. What are the prospects of peace in Asia Minor for the States which after the partition will have territorial interests there?

Very remote. The storm-centre will be Asia Minor, and probably the end of a long period of disturbance, local strife, arrested material and social progress, will be a disastrous and impoverishing war for another generation to wage. Will the Powers lightly face that prospect? The interests of peace after this world-war will be supreme. The nations will need a prolonged period to recover, heal the wounds inflicted, repair the incalculable damage wrought. Peace can only be established on Righteousness. Justice and Right demand that Armenia shall be satisfied—shall, after the centuries of darkness and sorrow, know a new day of light and joy.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

ARMENIANS AND THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE.

F. W. Bussell, in his essays on the Constitutional History of the Roman Empire [Longmans, 1910], devotes Part 2 of Vol. II. to an examination of the connection of the Armenian people with the Later Roman Empire. It is one of the most remarkable chapters in history. Yet it is one of the least known even to students. Gibbon in his great work was either totally ignorant of it or ignored it as a matter of no real importance. Later research has brought to light the facts and revealed their importance. In his elaborate sketch of the relations during a period of about 600 years, from 520 A.D. onwards, Bussell invites adhesion to the following conclusions:—

“(1) That the Armenians succeeded to the place and functions of the Pannovian or Illyrian sovereigns (250-678), and became the defenders of Imperial frontiers in the East. (2) That this race—strenuous, prolific, and feudal—formed a compact military party, in whose eyes the prestige of the Empire and the survival of Roman culture depended on the generous nourishment of national armies and defence. (3) That to the scanty and precarious

barbarian levies of the time of Belisarius succeeded a native force of provincial militia, recruited in the countries they defended (during the development of the *thematic* system, c. 650-800). (4) That the vitality of the Empire was due not so much to the useful role of the civilian prefect and judge (a class almost extinct by 650) as to the new vigour and loyal allegiance of the Armenian immigrants and settlers. (5) That this warrior class, handing on military skill and valour from father to son, maintained a silent but tireless conflict with Greek orthodoxy, monachism, and the civilians who starved the war chest. (6) That later Byzantine history becomes an interesting spectacle of the vicissitudes of this conflict, and culminates (it may be said) in the scandalous treatment of Romanus IV. (1071). (7) That the whole spirit of this invading race was "feudal," that is, attached great weight to descent, family connections, landed possessions, and vassals. (8) That feudalism infects (or transforms) the Roman institutions, presenting us with the glorious epic of Phocas, Zimisce, and Basil, and the constant pretensions of certain noble families, if not to sovereignty, at least to actual and responsible control. (9) That while as a rule nationality and local prejudice vanish in the lofty atmosphere of the throne, Byzantine monarchs are Armenians in actual birth or unmistakable sympathies. (10) That the strong armies of the Eastern frontier are the chief (if not the invariable) arbiters of the succession, and are seen to dictate heirs to a falling, or policy to an incompetent, dynasty from 700 to the accession of the Comneni."

Remarkable as are these conclusions, they are more than justified by the facts. Of these three, at least, are vital to an understanding of the extraordinary position and influence won by the Armenian race in Byzantium. First in order of time is the collapse of the Greater Kingdom of Armenia, about 385 A.D., after an existence of nearly seven centuries. The second fact is the wave of emigration from Armenia of the feudal lords and their followers to Byzantium. Numerous cadets of great feudal families emigrated. Nothing was more natural. Life in a conquered province held out few and insignificant prizes to bold and capable men. Partly to escape prevalent conditions, partly attracted by the prizes Byzantium held out to capacity and strength—these were the motives which compelled them in ever increasing numbers to make Byzantium their home, and the arena in which they sought fame and fortune. By the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th Century, they were there in such numbers that Armenians, who could claim “to be amongst the oldest and most illustrious families in Christendom, eclipsed the moribund traditions of Greece and Rome.” It is indisputable that from 750 to 850 the Armenian influence is continuous and consistent, and what is perhaps strangest of all, Armenian birth seems to have been the chief recommendation. The third fact enables us to understand the second, strange as it may appear. Byzantium was scourged by the Great Plague, which was epidemic during these centuries, viz., from 550 to 750. All classes suffered, and

the aristocracy did not escape. It "halved the population of the capital, and made the Peloponnese a desert." [Bussell, "The Roman Empire," Vol. II., p. 114.] "With the rapid extinction of the former social order, the welcome extended to exceptional courage, adroitness, or servility, the pure Asiatic invasion of high places under the Isaurians—the plague contributed both in capital and provinces to hasten the change and transform the face of the country. In the former the effects were more sudden and more serious." [Ibid, Vol. II., p. 145.] The native aristocracy having been decimated, these representatives of noble houses of a Christian people in Asia were eagerly welcomed, and found ample scope in the military and political needs of the Empire for their undeniable courage and genius.

In the 7th Century the Byzantine Empire seemed hastening to decay. If its final break up and disappearance was postponed for seven more centuries, if, in the 9th and 11th Centuries, there was a marvellous recovery in the life and strength of the Empire, it was largely due to the valour and genius of these emigrants from Asia Minor.

This is seen unmistakably in two directions; (1) in the military predominance of Armenians in the Byzantine armies. The most conspicuously able generals from the 7th Century onwards are Armenians. Bussell says that an army list of Justinian's later years would show in convincing fashion the predominance of the Armenian. The loyal service of Armenians far from their homes more than compensated for the failure of the Italian wars. On the Euphrates, Sura's garrison was com-

manded by an Armenian in 540, and in the year following the fleet of Thrace by another. Prominent military names like those of Narses of the Camsar clan, Isaac, brother of Adolius, Gitacius "who knew nothing but his native tongue," Pacurius, son of Peranes, Varazes "with a little cohort of 80," were all Oriental officers serving in Italy in 543. In the 6th Century also when Chrosoes, Shah of Persia, began a pagan persecution of Christians in Pers-Armenia, they joined the Roman forces, and in 550 John Gazes loses his life at Petra; in 551 Avatius (Arsacid and Camsar) commands the Armenian and Illyrian troops, whilst Armenians command in the punitive expeditions against the Misimians (Caucasus) and the disorderly Tzanin. In the 7th and 8th Centuries Armenia, deprived of local political life, poured the treasures of her warlike and feudal temper into the Empire, and contributed largely to its internal history. The flower of the armies of the Empire were the mercenary troops sold by their princes (like Hessians, says Bussell, in the 18th Century), and their loyalty and courage could not be denied. Tiradates at Modruna loses his life, and his troops refused quarter after his death, and died fighting. Their obstinate valour was a serious loss to the Empire. An Armenian military leader John Curcusas was the hero of the 9th Century. From a mere sergeant of gendarmerie he had risen to high place, and had never lost a battle. His troops were reckoned the most efficient in the Empire. He really began the great work of consolidation of the Eastern frontier. The son of a

soldier himself, born in Lesser Armenia, he was the father of Romanus Curcusas, a captain of distinction in the reign of Nicephorus. It was John Curcusas who prepared the way for the more familiar achievements of the Phocas and Zimisce. It was during this period that the great Armenian families of Maleïnus, Curcusas, Phocas and Argyrus became prominent and powerful, emphasising the ever-increasing influence of the emigrant nobles during the reigns of Constans VII., and his son. Basil II. angry with the Armenian race and Church, forced many of the people to settle in Macedonia. Despite this act of arbitrary power he had strong Armenian support, and showed a noble confidence in Armenian loyalty, *e.g.*, Gregory the Taronite was in command at Thessalonica. Later we find that this steady growth in Armenian influence raised deep feeling at Court against the race. Through all their relations with the Byzantine Empire they and the civilian party had been antagonistic. It was always a silent struggle between two forces—the court representing civilian government, and the Armenian feudal aristocracy, the military. The Armenians were always suspect in the eyes of the Court party. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that in the 11th Century the Court “decided to annihilate the entire Armenian race,” and this too when the Armenian Catacalon, the most able leader of the Empire, was making brave efforts to save Armenia from the Seljuk Turk. Only the action of the Emperor saved the Armenians, and he showed his sense of their worth by elevating the Armenian Basil the Patrician to a dukedom, and in promoting

Catacalon to the dukedom of Antioch—the highest honour in his power to confer.

In the 11th and 12th Centuries the same dominance of Armenians in military affairs is seen. The rise of the Comnenian clan marks the triumph of a vigorous policy, and of the feudal aristocracy. "The Armenian race's firm native qualities impressed the Empire with their own ineffaceable stamp and enabled the great feudal revival of the Comneni and Paleologi to continue the Roman sway for 500 years." In these centuries also Armenians are prominent in the Imperial armies. The most trusted generals were of the race, *e.g.*, Nicolus "Branas" or Varaz, and Pasurian, Taticius, and others. In fact Bussell declares that "feudalism gave the Empire a long respite and a glorious sunset." During these centuries "the heart and vigour of the policy of Rome lay solely in the Armenian mountains, and the true inner history of the Empire should be written from some frontier citadel of the East rather than from the palace of the capital." The writer amply demonstrates that it was Armenian valour and military skill which kept the Empire on its feet during the last centuries of its existence.

Nor was it only brave troops and brilliant leaders Armenia gave to the Empire. The throne of the Cæsars was aimed at and won by members of this race again and again during these centuries. It is customary to speak of Leo V. "The Armenian" as though he was the only member of the race to occupy the throne. On the contrary, whilst pretenders of Armenian stock were numerous, many

undoubted Armenians won the supreme post of the Empire. Maurice, who was crowned Emperor in 582, is claimed by Armenians as a fellow countryman. Probably he was born in the province of Ararat or "connected with that district which gave strength and military leaders to the Empire after the failure of the Balkan or Illyrian stock. He may well have belonged to one of the families who migrated into Roman territory after a persecution." His murder in 602 was the sequel for that disastrous war with Persia which left both Empires exhausted. Later, in 668, Mejej a handsome Armenian, "for a brief season tasted the cares rather than the delights of sovereignty. Phillipcus was the first undoubted Armenian Cæsar (711). If Leo III. was not actually Armenian his early experiences and success attest his Armenian connections. It is incontestable that he represented Armenia in character and creed, that his chief allies and relatives came from this nation, that he believed himself closely linked with it. Leo the Armenian was displaced by another Armenian—Michael the Amorian (821-3). Basil the Macedonian (Armenian and Arsacid), the handsome groom, was elevated and crowned in 867, and with his two sons, Leo VI. "The Wise," the more prominent, occupying the throne for 45 years (867-912).

The 10th Century witnessed the triumph of Phocas and Zimisce, although those great Armenians "do less for the Commonwealth," says Bussell, "in the purple than as simple generals in the East." With the overthrow of the Armenian Kingdoms of Ani, in 1064, and, later, that of

Vaspuracan by the Seljuk Turks, the political centre of Armenian life is found Westward in the minor kingdom of Cilicia, founded in 1080, by the irreconcilable patriots under Reuben, but whilst "the new kingdom enjoyed a prosperous development the captains and pretenders of the of the Empire, those who defended and those who sought to destroy, will be found still to belong to the constant rival of the Greek nationality and religion."

In the light of this historical evidence may it not be affirmed that the modern contention that the Armenians as a race have no political aptitude should be dismissed as utterly baseless, as baseless as the contention that autonomy, if given by the Allied Powers, would find this people incapable of maintaining it against the forces in Asia Minor, with which they have striven for the last six centuries? Again their success in administration, in politics, in commerce in modern times, is not one whit more remarkable than the unanimity with which the manhood of the race has thrown itself into the world-war now being waged. Does that support the view that the ancient valour of the race is extinct?

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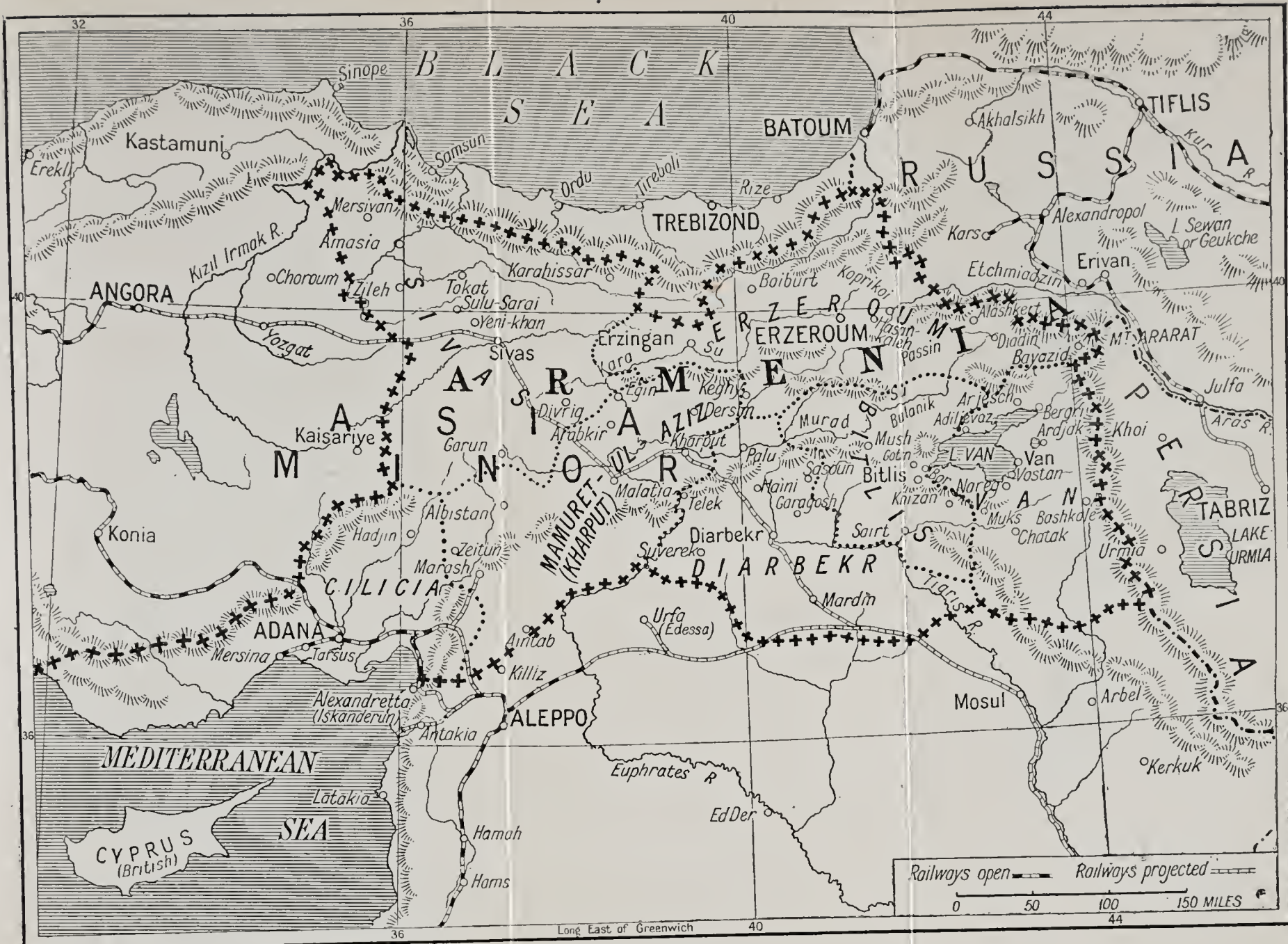
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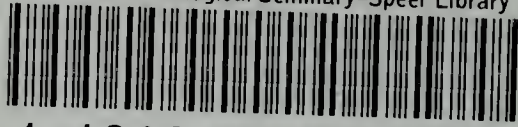


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